THE PRESENT STATE OF RUSSIA.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING,

I. LAURENCE LANGE's Journey from *Petersbourg* to *Peking* in *China*.

II. JOHN BERNARD MULLER's Deſcription of the *Oſtiacks*, a Nation in *Siberia*.

III. The Criminal Proceedings againſt the late Carewitz, as publiſhed by Authority.

IV. Juſtification of the Swediſh War againſt *Ruſſia*: And, The Anſwer to it drawn up by a Ruſſian Miniſter of State.

V. A Project offered to his Czariſh Majeſty by ſome Doctors of the *Sorbone* at *Paris*, for an Union between the Churches of *Rome* and *Ruſſia*.

VI. M. LE BRUN's Obſervations on his Journey through *Ruſſia* to *Perſia*.

LONDON:

Printed for W. TAYLOR in *Paternoſter-Row*, W. and J. INNYS at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's*, and J. OSBORN in *Lombard-ſtreet*. 1722.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
RUSSIA.
VOL. II.

CONTAINING,

I. Laurence Langlès's Journey from Petersburg to Peking in China.

II. John Bernard Muller's Description of the Ostiacks, a Nation in Siberia.

III. The Criminal Proceedings against the Count Horewitz, as published by Authority.

IV. Justification of the Swedish Ways against Russia: And, The Answer to it drawn up by a Russian Minister of State.

V. A Project offered to his Czarish Majesty by three Doctors of the Sorbonne, for an Union between the Church of Rome and Russia.

VI. M. Le Brun's Observations in his Journey through Anglia to Petersburg.

LONDON:

Printed for W. Taylor in Paternoster-Row, W. and J. Innys at the West End of St. Paul's, and J. Osborn in Gracechurch-Street. 1725.

JOURNAL
OF
Laurence Lange's
TRAVELS
TO
CHINA.

HAVING received our Dispatches for the Emperor of *China*, we set out from *Petersbourg* the 18th of August 1715, by Water on the River *Neva*, and arrived on the 20th at *Sleutelbourg*. On the 22d we proceeded seventy Wersts by Land to *Stara Ladoga*, from whence we went on the River *Wolkofa*, and arrived on the 26th at *Great Novogorod*, where being furnished with *Podwods* or Relays, we passed by *Turtchoke* and *Twer*, and arrived on the 7th of *September* at *Moskow*. Great Novogorod. Moskow.

On the 22d of December we departed from
Pereſlaff. *Moskow* and reached *Pereſlaff*, one hundred and twenty Werſts from thence on the 24th; *Ro-*
Roſtoff. *ſtoff* ſixty Werſts, on the 25th; *Jaroſlaff* on the
Jaroſlaff. *Wolga* on the 26th; (where we met part of the Caravan from *China*) the Villages, *Wokſchekoi-Iam*, thirty Werſts, on the 27th, *Telatche-Iam*, thirty Werſts, *Uckerska-Iam*, thirty Werſts, on the 28th; *Obmorska*, thirty Werſts, *Nizoffska*, forty Werſts, on the 29th; *Stara*, thirty Werſts, *Schuiska-Iam*, twenty Werſts, on the 30th; at the latter Place we embarked the next Morning on the *Suchona*, which riſes out of the *Coubelka-Ozero* or Lake, and is a very pleaſant River, one Werſt broad in ſome Places, crowded on both Sides with fine and large Villages: Near *Great Uſtiuga* it mixes with the River *Juga*, after which having changed its Name into that of *Dwina*, it runs down to *Archangel* where it diſcharges it ſelf into the White Sea. We arrived by Water at the Villages *Darowatka*, twenty five Werſts, and *Avaroitza*, forty Werſts, on the 31ſt. January the 1ſt, 1716. we proceeded by Land to *Usjetoſnotzka* a Village, twen-
Totma. ty five Werſts, to *Totma* a Town fifty Werſts, on the 2d we went no further than forty Werſts to *Cotzinga* a Village, for we met there another part of the Caravan from *China*, who took almoſt all the Horſes for themſelves. However after Midnight we went to *Bereſowa-Slaboda*, forty Werſts, and *Boboroska-Iam*, fifty Werſts, where we arrived on the 3d; that Night we proceeded to the Villages *Toſſima*, forty Werſts, and *Skuratina*, alſo forty Werſts, which latter we reached on the 4th; on the 5th we made forty Werſts of our

way and arrived at *Great-Uſtiuga* a Town, and proceeded in the Evening to *Alexena* a Village, twenty Werſts. On the 6th we came to *Soliwitzio-Gutzka*, a fine and large Town, twenty five Werſts from the ſaid Village. We obſerved that the Werſts there began to be as long again as before, beſides they never were meaſured. On the 7th we touched at the Village *Space*, thirty Werſts further, and travelling all Night fifty Werſts more we came to two Winter-dwellings in which lived ſome Peaſants, whoſe Language we had great difficulty to underſtand.

Great-Uſtiuga.

Soliwitzio-Gutzka.

They call themſelves *Syrenians* and the Country *Syra* or *Syrania*, which extends about ſeventy *Siumkas* in length, reckoning to each *Siumka*, five Werſts, which however are a great deal longer than thoſe in *Ruſſia*, as has juſt been mentioned. We obſerved in their Language ſeveral Words that have an Affinity with the *Livonian* Tongue, but they could not tell us from whence it derived, nor how their Country was peopled: They do not live conſtantly in thoſe Houſes, that Road being impracticable in Summer-time, but they go thither in Winter from other Villages, to furniſh Travellers with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries. They profeſs the Ruſſian and Grecian Faith, but know nothing of Books or Writing, and are content to live in the ſame Ignorance as their Anceſtors did.

The Country of the Syrenians.

On the 8th we went eight Siumkas or forty Werſts further to the Village *Raſcie*, which is the firſt in the Government of *Siberia*. On the 9th we proceeded thirty Werſts to *Pogoldina* another Village, and eighty Werſts further through a mere Deſart and

vaſt Woods, in which not one Houſe was to be ſeen. On the 10th in the Morning we reached *Uska-Iam*, a great Village but ill inhabited, from whence we paſſed through another great Wilderneſs fifty Werſts, till we found a poor Cottage in the midſt of the Foreſt, where we reſted our ſelves and our Horſes for a little while. That Night we travelled thirty Werſts more to a Monaſtery which is called after that Deſart *Uſtretinska Puſtina*, and maintains but four Monks. On the 11th we proceeded thirty Werſts to the Village *Zelo-Quidajowa*, and thirty ſeven Kaigorod. Werſts more to *Kaigorod*. This is a Town of middling Bigneſs, on the River *Kama* which after great Windings falls into the *Wolga*. On the 12th we made but thirty five Werſts into another Deſart, till we came to three other ſmall Winter Habitations, and at Night we went on twenty five Werſts through the ſame Deſart to another ſuch Cottage. On the 13th we came to the Villages *Zebizoff* thirty Werſts, *Coſa-Iam* forty five Werſts, *Urolka* fifty Werſts, where we arrived on the 14th in the Morning. That Day we went no further than *Will* a Village forty Werſts.

Solikamſkoy. The 15th we arrived at *Solikamskoy*, fifteen Werſts: This is a large Town, on the River *Kama*, famous on account of the Merchants by whom it is inhabited: There are thirty five Salt-Pits, moſt of them fifty Fathoms deep. The Salt is made in large Pans, ſtanding over Pits dug in the Earth in which they make the Fire. The Brine is ſo ſtrong that it is not poſſible to hold it in the Mouth; the Salt made of it is as fine as Meal, and white like Snow. All *Siberia*, *Caſan*, and *Aſtracan*

Aſtracan are furniſhed with it. The Works belong to the Merchants who pay the Workmen, but are obliged every Year to deliver for a ſettled Price ſuch Quantities and at ſuch Places as the Czar deſires.

The Country between *Kaigorod* and *Solikamskoy* is called *Weliki* (or Great) *Permia*, of which the latter Place is the Capital. The Inhabitants will not be called Ruſſians, though they profeſs the ſame Religion, but rather *Permians*; they have a Language of their own, are a ſtrong and well-ſhaped People, but know nothing of Letters or of the Hiſtory of their Anceſtors, except what they ſay of a Ruſſian Biſhop, who many Years ago converted them from their Idolatry to Chriſtianity and called himſelf *Stepan Weliki Permskoy*. *Great Permia a Province.*

On the 17th we proceeded to *Iczeffska* a Village, and from thence forty Werſts further to *Jeyova* another Village, where we arrived next Morning being the 17th, which Day we reached *Chiplon* another Village, twenty Werſts.

Between the latter Place and *Solikamskoy*, we paſſed the Mountains of *Werchaturia* where we met ſuch an intenſe Froſt, that our covered Sleds were not ſufficient Fence againſt it, and the danger of loſing our Noſes by the Cold, was ſuch that we were obliged to ſtop every twenty Werſts. We had fifty Werſts to travel over thoſe Mountains, which I judge to be nine Werſts perpendicular where they are higheſt; they are all covered with Wood and abound in Deer, as well as in Sables, Martens, Foxes, Wolves, Stags, Roebucks, and Elks: In the many Rivers and *Mountains of Werchaturia.*

Moraſſes at the Foot of thoſe Mountains are great numbers of the fineſt Beavers.

That Day we travelled fifty Werſts through a Foreſt, and the 18th thirty two Werſts to the Village *Podpavienska*, and three Werſts further to *Spaska* another Village.

The People Wogultzy.

We found here another ſort of People who call themſelves *Wogultzy*; they are like the *Calmucks* with broad Faces, ſhort and thick Noſes, and ſmall Eyes; many of them alſo live about *Werchaturia:* They can give no account how they came thither, nor is their Language the ſame with that of the *Calmucks*. This Nation has been but lately baptized by Order of the Prince *Gagarin*, Governor of *Siberia*, but they have not the leaſt Notion as yet of the difference between Chriſtianity and Paganiſm, ſo that if any good Effect can be expected from their Converſion, it muſt be with relation to their Poſterity. During the ſhort while we were among them, I had the Curioſity of asking ſome of them, what ſort of Worſhip they had, before they were brought to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; to which they anſwered, that they had an Idol hanging on a Tree in the Wood (as the *Samoieds* have to this Day near *Archangel*) before which they fell down as often as they had a Mind to it, lifted up their Eyes and ſet up a great Bawling, but upon my asking what they meant by that Noiſe, they could ſatisfy me no further than that every one cried according to his Fancy: I went on to inquire what they meant by lifting up their Eyes to Heaven, and whether they were ſenſible that there is a God who ſees all and knows the Actions and Thoughts of Mankind,

Mankind, but they made Anſwer, Heaven was too high for them to know whether there was a God or no, and that in their Condition their Thoughts extended no further than to ſatisfy their Hunger; I propoſed another Queſtion, whether they did not find more Comfort and Content at preſent that they worſhipped the living God, than before when they were under the Darkneſs of Idolatry, to which they returned for Anſwer, that they ſaw no great Difference, and that they did not trouble their Heads with the like Reflexions, provided they had whereupon to live. We proceeded from thence forty Werſts further to *Caraul* a Village.

On the 20th we arrived at *Werchaturia*, forty five Werſts. This Town is pretty large, and for the greater part inhabited by Merchants; it is alſo ſomewhat better fortified than the other Towns, by reaſon of its being the Paſs, where all Paſſengers going to and coming from *Siberia*, are narrowly ſearched. That Evening we arrived at the Village *Solda*, twenty ſix Werſts, and at Night at another *Maknovo-Iam*, forty ſix Werſts. On the 21ſt we entered forty five Werſts into a ſmall Wilderneſs full of Sables, Martens, red Foxes, *&c.* and reſted our Horſes at a Winter Habitation; from whence we travelled as far again to *Blagoweſchenska-Slaboda* where we arrived next Morning being the 22d. Werchaturia.

Next we came to *Jappantzin* a ſmall Town, alſo called *Turinska-Oſtrog* from the River *Tura* which runs by: It is only remarkable on account of the great quantity of Furs that are every Year brought thither from the Territory Jappantzin *or* Turinska-Oſtrog.

ritory belonging to it. We ſtayed that Night at *Camminova* a Village thirty Werſts further. On the 23d we arrived at the Village *Jolkina*, forty Werſts, paſſed the River *Tura* which falls into the *Tobol*, and lay that Night at *Kamenka* a Village, twenty Werſts.

Tumeen. On the 24th we arrived at *Tumeen* a Town, twenty Werſts, and lay at the Village *Iska*, thirty Werſts; on the 25th we paſſed a Borough or Slaboda, called *Archereska Pokrofska* thirty Werſts, *Bereſowa-Iam* forty Werſts, *Scheſlaki* a Village, thirty Werſts. On the 26th, at *Schiſkina* a Village, thirty three Werſts. On the 27th we arrived at *Tobolsky*, ſeven Werſts.

Tobolſky *the Capital of* Siberia. *Tobolsky* the Capital of all *Siberia*, is ſituate on a high Hill, and was not long ago ſurrounded with a ſtrong Brick-wall, within which ſort of Fortification ſtand a fine Monaſtery and a Church, beſides many other Churches without, which give the City a fine Appearance at a diſtance. At the foot of the Hill runs the *Irtiſch*, which takes its Riſe Southwards in the Country of the *Calmucks*, and glides along through a marſhy Ground, which is the reaſon that its Water is ſo muddy, that after having ſtood for a little while in a Veſſel, it leaves a Sediment at the bottom. Along this River on the foot of the Hill lies a fine and large Suburb, chiefly inhabited by *Coſacks*, which almoſt every Year ſuffers by Fire. Three Werſts from this City the *Tobol* falls into the *Irtiſch*, which afterwards takes its Courſe Weſtward and North North-weſt, and runs into the *Oby*. The Fiſhes of the *Irtiſch* are Sterlets, Pikes, Sturgeons, *&c.* among which the Sterlets may be reckoned the beſt, though they

they are not of near ſo good a taſte as thoſe taken in the *Oby*, *Keth* and *Jeniſea*.

On the 8th of *February* we continued our Journey by Water on the *Irtiſch*, and arrived on the 16th at *Tara*, a Town which the People there gueſs to be about ſix hundred Werſts from *Tobolsky*; but ſhould the diſtance be meaſured, it might well be found to make one thouſand and upwards. The ſaid Town lies on a ſmall River of the ſame Name, which half a Werſt from thence falls into the *Irtiſch*: It is of a middling Bigneſs, and ſurrounded with Paliſadoes. Tara.

Between theſe two Towns along the *Irtiſch*, there live *Tartars* all Mahometans, who in their own Way are ſubſtantial People, their Riches conſiſting not in Money, for which they have little Value, but in good Horſes, black Cattle and Sheep, ſo that one ſeldom comes into a Tartarian *Gurte* or Room, without finding at leaſt three Calves tied behind the Chimney; but what is very diſagreeable to Travellers is, that they will not ſell them, by reaſon of a ſuperſtitious Perſuaſion they have, that the Cows would die of Grief if they did. They have no Stoves in their Rooms like the Ruſſian Peaſants, but Chimneys for dreſſing their Victuals, which are made of Wattles and Clay; at ſome diſtance from the Chimney the Floor is lowered or ſunk, ſo that it ſerves them inſtead of Benches to ſit on round the Fire. Next to the Chimney a great Copper or Kettle is walled in, in which they dreſs their Meat, which ſeldom is any thing elſe but dry Fiſh, to which they put ſome Barley-Meal, ground in a wooden Mortar; they cramb it into their Mouths *Mahometan* Tartars *in* Siberia.

Mouths by Handfuls, ſo as to make any one that ſees them afraid of their being choaked; ſome mix it with a little Water, and ſtir it, juſt as the Ruſſian Country People do when they cram their Poultry. They drink their Tea mixed with the ſame Meal and a little Butter. At Weddings and other Entertainments, they kill and dreſs a young Horſe, to which they invite as many Gueſts as are like to eat it up without leaving any thing. Their Drink is called *Braga*, made of Oatmeal, and Brandy diſtilled of Mares Milk, with which they fuddle themſelves to that degree, that they dance and jump about in the utmoſt Diſorder and Confuſion, like diſtracted People, till they drop down: However, to prevent any Indecency as to the female Sex, their Women are entertained with the Bride in a ſeparate *Gurte* or Room. Their Dreſs does not much differ from the ancient Ruſſian, as it was before the European Faſhions were introduced. The Country-Women in *Ruſſia* think it a great Ornament to wear Rings in their Ears, but it ſeems that the Tartarian Women ſtrive to out-do them; for they draw Rings even through their Noſes, particularly if they affect to appear above the reſt. The yearly Tribute which they pay to the Czar conſiſts of Sables, Fox-Skins, and other Furs; but at the ſame time they are tributary to a Calmuckiſh Prince, called *Contouche*, and by the Chineze *Zwuang Rabtan*, whoſe Territories border on the Siberian Tartary on the South-weſt Side.

Barabinſky Tartars.

After ſome Days Stay we departed from *Tara*, and entered the great Deſart *Barabu*, which extends as far as *Tomskoy*. A certain Horde of Tartars called *Barabinsky* by the *Ruſſians*,

Ruſſians, live in it in the Winter time, but during the Summer they diſperſe themſelves about the *Tara* and other Rivers: They are Heathens, and lead ſo miſerable a Life, that they are more like Beaſts than Men. Their Habitations are dug into the Ground, and covered with a Roof of Straw, ſupported by Pales reaching about a Yard above the Surface of the Ground. In every one of them is an Idol, which they call *Shaitan*, being a ſmall Piece of Wood about half a Yard long, cut out in the Shape of a Man, dreſſed with all ſorts of Rags, and kept in a Box; they promiſe him a new Cap or Collar if he will help them to good Luck in Hunting. Their Victuals are dry Fiſh and dry Meal; their Drink melted Snow, there being no other Water in that Deſart: They keep but few Cattle, Horſes excepted, which they turn into the Woods to look for Food under the Snow as well as they can. One may have from them, whatever they can afford, for a little Tobacco, but Money they do not value. Their Clothes, Caps and Stockings are made of Pieces of Fur patched together. They cure their Wounds with Spunk or Tinder, which they lay burning on the Sore till it is quite conſumed, during which Operation they appear as inſenſible as if they felt not the leaſt Pain. This Nation or Tribe pays Tribute both to the Czar and the *Contouche*; it is probable they are of the ſame Race with the *Oſtiacks*, who live about the *Oby*, who alſo worſhip the *Shaitan*.

On the 7th of *March* we embarked on the the River *Tom*, and arrived on the 9th at *Tomskoy*, above which Town the ſaid River divides Tomſkoy.

divides it ſelf into two Arms, which unite again below it, after which it turns towards South Eaſt and South South Eaſt, and at length diſcharges it ſelf into the *Oby*. There is Plenty of Fiſh, Corn, and other Neceſſaries in this Town, beſides divers Furs, particularly that Sort called by the Ruſſians *Telavsky Bielki*, which are as white as Snow, and larger than any other. The neighbouring Mountains yield Lead, Iron, and Copper; as to Silver Oar they know of none, but the Swediſh Priſoners report, that Gold has been found in ſeveral Places. Ancient Tombs have been diſcovered there, out of which they have dug divers Antiquities of Gold and Silver, as Idols, Fiſh, Birds, Breaſt-plates, Saddle-claſps and Buckles, Table-Utenſils, Ear-and Finger-Rings, Coin, *&c.* from which it may be inferred, that thoſe Parts were in former times inhabited by a far more magnificent Nation than at preſent. There are alſo in this Neighbourhood Cryſtal-Rocks, and on the Banks of the Rivers are found other Stones of divers Colours, being a kind of ſpurious Gems, particularly a Sort which ſurpaſs the Bohemian Diamonds (much like our *Briſtol*-Stones) in Brightneſs and Hardneſs. On the 11th we left *Tomskoy*, and proceeded on Sleds, the Road being ſtill good, to the *Schulim*, a River which, with great Windings, glides through a marſhy Ground. The People inhabiting the Country along that River, are called *Schulimsky Tartars*, but we found their Huts empty, for in the Winter they go with their Families to hunt Sables, Deer, and other Game, on which they live; but in Summer they ſtay at home, and feed on Fiſh.

Schulimſky Tartars.

On

On the 22d we arrived at *Jeniſeiska*, a Town lying on the River *Jeniſee*, which comes from Eaſt South Eaſt, and, after having run by the Town, turns Northward, and diſcharges it ſelf into the Icy Sea. Near *Jeniſeiska* it is ſomewhat above one Werſt in Breadth, but about *Turkanska* above five, as is reported. It furniſhes divers ſorts of Fiſh, particularly the moſt delicious Sterlets of the whole Country. But their Furs do not come up to thoſe of *Tobolsky*, *Tara*, and *Tomskoy*. Jeniſeiſka.

In the Neighbourhood of this Place, and further down towards *Mangaſea*, are found a ſtrange ſort of Bones like Ivory, along the Banks of the River, and in the Hollows occaſioned by the Fall of the Earth. Many of the Inhabitants are of Opinion, that they are actually Elephant Bones, which were carried thither by the Deluge. Others maintain they are no real Bones, Teeth, *&c.* but a ſpecies of *Cornu foſſile*, that grows in the Earth. Some again give out, that a monſtrous great Beaſt lives under Ground, which they call *Maman*, which cannot endure either Air or Light; they pretend it has a great Horn on the Forehead, with which it throws up the Earth before it, and which is the aboveſaid Bone reſembling an Elephant's Tooth, that is found in *Siberia*. Some ſpeculative Searchers into Natural Philoſophy, will have this *Maman* to be the *Behemoth* mentioned in the 40th Chapter of *Job*, the Deſcription of which moſt exactly fits the Nature of this Beaſt: For its Jaw-bones are of a Subſtance which outwardly looks like Bone, but within lie Braſs, and is as hard as a Stone; the Circumſtance of *Behemoth*'s hiding himſelf in the Shade and in Maman-Bones.

the Fens, may be applied to the Places in *Siberia* where the *Maman*-Bones are found, which, for the greater Part, are Woods and Buſhes growing on a fenny and marſhy Ground. Moreover, *Job*'s Words, *he is caught by his own Eyes*, * agree with the *Siberian* Tradition, that the *Maman*-Beaſt dies, upon his coming to the Light of the Sun. But what moſt perſuades me that they are Bones of a Beaſt which is to this Day ſubſiſting, is that many credible Perſons averred to me, that they themſelves had ſeen Horns, Jaw-bones and Ribs of it, with freſh Blood and Fleſh ſticking to it, aſſuring me at the ſame Time, that any body who would be at the Pains, might eaſily gather a whole Skeleton.

Kamſky-Tartars. On the 24th of May we departed from *Jeniſeiska*, and proceeded in our Way on Horſeback, being unwilling to ſtay till the Rivers were open. After a long and tedious Journey, we met ſome Tartars inhabiting the Banks of the River *Kamsky*, who are Pagans. They live in Huts made of the Bark of Birch-Tree, and their Food is Fiſh and Veniſon, which they eat raw as well as boiled, and with it yellow Lilly-Roots, which they dig for in the Woods.

Bratſkoy. On the 16th of June we arrived at *Bratskoy*, a Borough on the River *Angara*, where it joins with the *Occa*. The People thereabouts are named *Bratsky Tartars*, who live in *Gurtes* or Huts made of Felt, and are very rich in Hor-

Bratſky-Tartars.

[* *According to ſome foreign Tranſlations; but the Engliſh renders it thus:* He taketh the Jordan with his Eyes; *or*, will any take him in his Sight, *Job*, 40. 24.]

ſes

ſes and Cattle of other ſorts; he that has not about four or five hundred Horſes of his own beſides other Cattle, is reckoned but of mean Circumſtances. They live chiefly on the Deer they hunt; but if one of their Horſes dies, it affords them a dainty Feaſt, at which their ſtrongeſt Liquor is Brandy diſtilled from Mares-Milk. When they marry, they agree with the Bride's Father for a certain Number of Horſes; the Contract being made, the Bridegroom carries his Bride home, and invites the Neighbours on both Sides to an Entertainment of ſome Horſes newly killed, on which Occaſion they commonly drink plentifully. Many a Wife ſtands her Husband in ſeventy, and ſome even in one hundred Horſes, as many Oxen and Sheep, and beſides twenty Camels and upwards, in which latter ſort of Beaſts this Country abounds. Their Religion conſiſts in worſhipping ſome rotten Sheep-Skins, hung up on Poles about their Huts, before which they fall down, making Geſtures like diſtracted People, for which ſort of Worſhip they can account no otherwiſe than by the Example of their Anceſtors. Travellers deſigning to go through this Country, ought to make Proviſion of Bread and Tobacco, for the latter of which they may have all other Neceſſaries. The Natives ſometimes offer a Sheep to the Paſſengers as a Preſent, beſpeaking only the Entrails of it, which they dreſs and eat as a Dainty, without being very careful of firſt cleanſing them. Both Men and Women are of a tawny Complexion like Gypſies, but are better dreſſed than any of the Nations mentioned before. The Women wear long plaited Gowns, and the Maids di-

ſtinguiſh themſelves by Treſſes, adorned with divers Bawbles of Braſs.

Himſky. As we were obliged to tarry at *Bratſkoy*, we were overtaken by the Governor of *Himsky*, (a Town thirty German Miles from thence) who was collecting the Tribute for the Czar, and took me along with him to the ſaid Town, which is ſituate in a Valley between high Mountains and Rocks on a ſmall River of the ſame Name, coming from North Weſt, and running Southward into the *Tungunska*. The Sables there are in great Plenty, and much blacker than in other Places. On the 10th of July we departed, and on the 12th were joined again by our Baggage, which waited for us eighteen German Miles off at the Village *Mamur*.

Irkutſkoy. On the 18th we arrived at *Irkutskoy*, and ſent our Paſſport over the Ruſſian Limits into the *Weſtern Tartary*, or the Country of the *Mongals*, to be delivered to the *Tuſchidu Can*, or the Chineze Vice-Roy in that Country, to notify to him our Arrival, in order to acquaint the Emperor of *China* with it. *Irkutskoy* is the ſame Town which *Isbrand* calls *Jekutzkoy*, probably by a Slip of the Pen; the burning Cave mentioned by the ſame Author, is no more to be ſeen there. The *Angara*, which has its Riſe in the *Baikal-Lake*, runs by the ſaid Town, and receives there the *Irkut*, from whence the Town has its Name. Over-againſt it lies a fine Monaſtery.

The Lake Ba kal. On the 3d of Auguſt we came to the Lake *Baikal*, on the Shore of which ſtands a *Schoſofna*, or Chapel dedicated to St. *Nicholas*, and adorned with Images: It ſeemed to me to be the pretended Monaſtery which *Isbrand*

places there. The *Baikal*, otherwiſe called *Lacus Sinicus*, is thirty five Werſts broad from Eaſt to Weſt, and, according to the Peoples Conjecture, five hundred long from North to South. They call it *Swetoy-More*, or the *Holy Sea*, and will not ſuffer it to be called *Oſero*, or a *Lake*; they think it would be an Affront which the Water might reſent, and they ſhew ſuch a Reſpect for it, that, during their navigating upon it, they abſtain from Brandy, Tobacco, and other uſual Refreſhments. It is ſurprizing that Sea-Dogs are found in this ſtanding, freſh, and clear Water. On the 4th we embarked in a flat-bottomed Veſſel; but the Wind being contrary, we were obliged to have it drawn with a Rope along the Shore. On the 5th the Wind coming about fair, we croſſed the Lake, and lay that Night on the Shore under the open Sky near *Poſſolskoy-Manaſter*, or the Ambaſſadors Monaſtery. On the 6th we ſailed into the River *Selinga*, at the Mouth of which ſtands another Chapel dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. On the 10th at Noon we arrived by Water at *Kabanskoy*, which is not a Caſtle, as *Isbrand* erroneouſly relates, but a large Borough. On the 11th we proceeded by Land to *Boſſchoy Saimka*, another large Borough, in which ſtands a fine Monaſtery, called the Monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.

On the 12th we arrived at *Udinskoy*, a Town on the River *Uda*, which a good Werſt below falls into the *Selinga*. It has a Fortreſs lying on a high Hill, built in a triangular Form. On the 14th towards Noon we came to *Selinginskoy*, the laſt Ruſſian Town, which has a ſmall Fort in which lives a Ruſſian Baiſ- liff.

Udinſkoy.

Selinginſkoy.

liff. The River *Selinga*, from which the Town has its Name, runs hard by; it takes its Rife in the Country of the *Mungals*, runs Weſtwards, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Baikal*. Here we overtook the Caravan, to receive which a Mongalian Captain was already arrived, but he had no Orders relating to us; we therefore diſpatched another Expreſs with a Letter to the *Tuſchidu-Can* of the *Mongals*, to notify our Arrival; who returned with Anſwer, that he immediately would ſend a *Lama* or Prieſt to *Pekin*, who could not be expected back ſooner than in thirty Days. On the 31ſt of Auguſt we ſaw the ſtrange way of Fiſhing, which *Isbrand* pretends to have ſeen near *Udinskoy*; the Inhabitants call thoſe Fiſhes *Omuli*.

Reception by a Chineze Mandarin.

On the 2d of October a Chineze Mandarin came to *Selinginskoy*, who was ordered by the Emperor to conduct us to *Pekin*, and to provide us with Relays and Neceſſaries on the Road. On the 7th we left *Selinginskoy*, and arrived on the 9th at *Saratzyn*, where Guards are placed on both Sides the Limits between *Siberia* and *Mongalia*. From thence we paſſed many Mountains and Vallies, and arrived on the 15th at the River *Tola*. Here the great *Step* or Deſart begins, which reaches to the famous Chineze Wall, where Horſe-Dung ſerves for Fewel, no Wood being to be had there.

Mongal-Tartars.

The Inhabitants of this Part of *Tartary* are rich in Camels and Horſes, of which a Man of middling Circumſtances has at leaſt three or four thouſand. Their High-Prieſt is called *Kutugta*, who formerly was under the *Dalai Lama*, and is in great Veneration among this

Nation. Their Idols are commonly made of Cypreſs-wood, in the Shape of Women, Lions, *&c.* and are kept in little Braſs-Boxes, lined with Satin.

On the 6th of November we paſſed the *Chineze Wall.* It is built of Bricks, twelve Fathoms in Breadth, and, as I gueſſed, three in Height; it runs in equal Bigneſs and Height over the higheſt Mountains. The Length from Eaſt to Weſt in an horizontal Line, without reckoning the Aſcents and Deſcents, makes three hundred French Leagues. This Wall has ſquare Baſtions within an Arrow-Shot from each other. When we paſſed through the Gate, ſeven or eight Officers ſtood on our Right, neatly dreſſed in Satin, and thirty Soldiers on the Left in a Line, preſenting, after their own Way, their Arms, conſiſting of Sabres, Bows and Arrows. The Officers received us with great Civility, and invited us into their Corps-de-Gard, to take a Diſh of Tea and a Pipe of Tobacco with them after the Chineze manner. From thence we had a League to go to the Town of *Kalgan*, where the Mandarin, who was Governor of the Place, entertained us at his Houſe with great Civility; upon our Return from that Entertainment, we found a Courier diſpatched to us by the Governor of *Pekin*, to enquire why we tarried, the Emperor having expected us long ago. The Mandarin, apprehenſive of his Maſter's Diſpleaſure, diſpatched the Expreſs back to *Pekin*, with ſuch an Anſwer, as to leave us in Fault; and on the 7th he hurried us away contrary to his former Cuſtom, and unknown to us for what Reaſon, ſo that we arrived the ſame Night at the Town

Chineſe Wall.

Kalgan.

Tchanpingu. *Tchanpingu.* From thence we proceeded the 8th, and paſſed through many Towns and Villages, which lye ſo cloſe together, that we often ſaw three or four Towns at once. That Night we lay at *Nanku.*

Tchantchienne. *Admittance at Court.* On the 11th we arrived at *Tchantchienne*, a Town lying three Leagues Weſt of *Pekin.* The Emperor being there at his Pleaſure-Houſe, the Mandarin went to acquaint him with our Arrival, and about half an Hour after returned full Speed with the Emperor's Orders for us immediately to appear at Court, without giving us Time to change Clothes, or even ſo much as to bruſh the Duſt off of our travelling Habits. We paſſed through one Court-Yard into another, where we were bid to wait the Emperor's Pleaſure. We were in a Moment ſurrounded by ſome hundreds of Perſons, who viewed us with ſo much Curioſity, that ſome pulled us by the Periuques, others by the Hats, examining our Dreſs even to our very Skins. Thus we were haled about, ſerving for a Shew to the Chineze, till two Jeſuits came to us, who are the chief of that Society at *Pekin*, one of them is *Kilianus Stumphius*, and the other *Dominicus Parennius*. They asked us in the Emperor's Name, how long it was ſince we left *Europe?* How many Months we had been on our Journey between *Petersbourg* and *Peking?* and where his Czariſh Majeſty was at the Time of our Departure? After having returned proper Anſwers to theſe Queſtions, my Companion the Engliſh Phyſician *Garwin*, was asked in particular about his Medicines, as I was relating to the War with *Sweden*. During the Time that our Interpreters made report to the

the Emperor of our Anſwers, they preſented us with a Silver Diſh of Tea prepared with Milk and fried Meal; and we were told that it was the ſame the Emperor uſed to drink himſelf. We reliſhed it very well, that Day being pretty cold, and having attended a long while in the Court in the open Air. At length after having anſwered ſome further Queſtions, which were likewiſe reported to the Emperor, he ſent Orders to one of his Miniſters, who was at the ſame Time Governor-General of the *Weſtern Tartary*, to take us with him to Supper, whereupon we and the Jeſuits went to his Houſe, and were there nobly entertained. After Supper he diſcourſed with us about the Cuſtoms of the Europeans till Midnight, when we took Leave, and were told by him, that it was the Emperor's Pleaſure, that we ſhould make our Appearance at Court before Sun-Riſing.

Audience of the Emperor.

On the 12th before Day-light, two Mandarins came to acquaint us, that the Emperor was already up, and had inquired after us; we followed them to the Palace, where we were entertained with Tea by the Great Chamberlain, an Eunuch, who informed us, that the Emperor being buſy about Affairs of State, deſired us to wait in his Apartment till we were called to Audience. It was near two in the Afternoon when all the Miniſters of State being withdrawn, the aboveſaid Miniſter, with whom we ſupped the Night before, came to ask us, whether we were deſirous to ſee his Majeſty himſelf? To which we made Anſwer, that in a Country ſo remote from *Europe*, we could receive no greater Honour than that of being admitted to pay

our Reſpects to ſo great a Monarch. He ſoon after came again with Leave for us from the Emperor to appear before him, and with Orders for the two Jeſuits to attend as Interpreters. So we walked between the latter, and were led into a third Court-Yard, and further into a Hall where the Emperor was ſitting on a Throne; upon entering it we were obliged to kneel down, and make three Bows with our Heads to the Ground. Then riſing again, we performed the ſame Ceremony a ſecond and third time, and remained on our Knees with our Bodies upright. The Emperor ordering us to approach his Throne, one of the Chamberlains led us by the Hands to the Emperor's Left, the Jeſuits placing themſelves on his Right, and ſo we altogether again kneeled down on Cuſhions laid there for that Purpoſe. The Emperor's firſt Queſtion related to his Czariſh Majeſty's Health, to which we anſwered by the Jeſuits, that though we heard at *Moskow* of his Majeſty's being indiſpoſed after our Departure from *Petersbourg*, yet ſoon after we heard the agreeable News of his perfect Recovery. The Emperor having replied, that he was very glad of it, went on asking, how long we had been on the Road? Our Anſwer was, that we had made a Journey of fifteen Months between *Peking* and *Petersbourg*; he further asked, whether we were not cold in our ſtreight and ſhort Clothes; we anſwered, we did not find the Cold in this Country very ſenſibly, having been uſed to that of *Ruſſia*, which is a great deal more ſevere; however, we knew how to defend our ſelves againſt it by the Help of good Furs. Upon this the

Emperor

Emperor ſpoke to one of his Chamberlains, who went out to fetch two Satin Gowns lined with white Fox-Skins, which the ſaid Chamberlain and another, by the Emperor's Order, put over our own Clothes, for which we made another Bow to the Emperor with our Heads to the Ground. Then the Emperor bid us put on our Gloves, and we obeyed. Having continued for ſome time in that Poſture, the Emperor deſired the Doctor to feel his Pulſe, and to give his Opinion upon it; the Doctor anſwering, that it appeared to him his Majeſty was in perfect Health, he was pleaſed, and gave us Leave to riſe, and to withdraw into the Chamberlain's Apartment, where we had been before the Audience. Having waited there a little while, the Emperor ſent from his own Table ſome Ragoos, boiled Mutton, roaſted Chickens, Geeſe, Ducks, *&c.* which were ſerved up all cut in ſmall Pieces: The ſecond Courſe conſiſted of a Diſh of Fiſh dreſſed with minced Meat, and for each of us ſome boiled Rice in a China Bowl, together with ſmall Cakes filled with Fruit. During our being at Table with the ſaid Chamberlain and the two Jeſuits, one of the Emperor's Valet-de-Chambres came in, telling us, he was ordered to bid us make good Cheer, and to enquire how we liked the Diſhes that were ſent to us: We returned our Thanks for the great Favour, and very much commended our Fare, as indeed it deſerved; and as for the reſt, the Meſſenger could bear Witneſs, that we eat heartily, though at firſt we were puzzled how to handle the Chineze Forks, which are but ſmall turned Ivory Sticks. After Dinner we had

Leave

Leave to return to our Lodgings; but before we went out of the Palace, the Emperor ſent for Father *Dominicus Parennius*, a Frenchman, and ordered him to tell us as follows: "His Majeſty, the Emperor of *China*, and "firſt King of the whole World, ſends "Word to the Ruſſian Ambaſſadors, that he "knows them to be Strangers in his Empire "ſo remote from *Europe*, who are unac-"quainted with the Cuſtoms and the Lan-"guage of the Country; but that they ought "to be under no Concern, becauſe his Maje-"ſty will protect them not like Strangers, "but like his own Children." We were no ſooner arrived at our Lodgings, but we were viſited by another Chamberlain and the two Jeſuits, bringing a Preſent of Fruits from the Emperor, conſiſting of a moſt delicious Melon, three different ſorts of Grapes, and freſh Currants, all of a very delicious Taſte. The Emperor had ordered them at the ſame time to enquire, whether we would wear our own Clothes in his Country, or go in the Chineze Dreſs; we left it to the Emperors own Choice, and the Chamberlain having made Report of our Anſwer, ſoon after returned with two Chineze Suits of Clothes, beſides Caps, Shirts, Stockings and Boots, telling us that the Emperor recommended us to wear them. One Coat was lined with Fox-skins, and the other with Marten; the Upper-Gowns were lined with the Skins of the Bellies of Foxes and Martens, moſt skillfully joyned together, and ſo white that they could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from Ermin.

On

On the 14th we received another Visit from the aboveſaid Gentlemen, who took us with them to the Palace, where being asked by the Emperor's Order whether we deſigned to ſend any thing from his Country to his Czariſh Majeſty, we anſwered, that being but lately arrived we had had no Opportunity of ſeeing many Curioſities of the Country, and that we did not doubt his Czariſh Majeſty would be much delighted, to have ſome, if we knew where to meet with them: Upon this the Emperor let us know that if we would ſend him the Particulars of what we deſired, we ſhould be furniſhed with them out of his own Collection. We replied, that the Czar's Cabinet was already ſtocked with all the Rarities of *Europe*, but with few or none from *China*, that therefore we our ſelves being unacquainted with the latter, ſhould think thoſe the beſt which the Emperor ſhould be pleaſed to ſend by us. About Noon we returned to our Lodgings, where we ſoon had another Viſit of the foreſaid Gentlemen, who acquainted us that the Emperor had ordered to provide us with Beds and two Saddle-Mules for our own Service, and Horſes for our Servants, to be relieved every Day. Moreover a monthly Allowance was aſſigned us, conſiſting of Money, Sheep, Rice and Forage, and it was ordered, that every Day a Mandarin ſhould keep us Company, and take care that we wanted for nothing; at the ſame time a Sentinel was placed at our Door. Being afterwards left alone with the Jeſuits, I deſired the French Father to help me to a Stove of Porcelane, if any was to be had for Money at *Peking*. He at firſt judged it a dif-

Further Entertainment and other Occurrences.

a difficult matter, no ſuch a Thing being made in *China*; however having ſeen the Draught which I ſhewed him upon his Deſire, he ſaid it was his Opinion that it was not impoſſible to get one made on purpoſe, yet no body would undertake it, unleſs by the Emperor's expreſs Order; I replied that I had no Orders to trouble his Majeſty about it, but to buy it ready made. The Father hearing this, alledged that he was expreſſly charged by the Emperor, to learn of us what might be to his Czariſh Majeſty's Liking, and went, though againſt our Inclination to report it at Court. An Hour after he returned with a Mandarin to fetch the Draught, the Emperor being deſirous to ſee it. I complied and ſent it, whereupon the Emperor let us know, that we need give our ſelves no further Trouble about a Thing which was no where ſold, but that he would ſend a Mandarin with the Draught into the Province where the Porcelain was made, to ſtay there till the Stove was ready, which he would then ſend to the Czar for a Preſent. At the ſame time Father *Kilian Stumpf*, who is Preſident of the Mathematical Sciences at *Peking*, received Orders to prepare a Model of Wood, which being done accordingly, a Mandarin was diſpatched with it. Before he ſet out I preſented him with ſome Sables to engage his good Will, and he promiſed me to endeavour to be back at *Peking* in Auguſt 1717. On the 15th the Emperor ſent the other Mandarin, mentioned above, who is Governor of the *Weſtern Tartary*, to intimate to me that his Majeſty having reſolved to ſend an Embaſſy to *Ruſſia* whom I ſhould conduct to his

his Czariſh Majeſty's Preſence, I was to prepare for my Departure. Immediately after, two Chineze and as many Tartarian Lords were nominated for that Embaſſy, beſides another Perſon not then named.

Mean while the Emperor went to take the Diverſion of Hunting, and we continued at *Peking*. On the 20th of January 1717. his Majeſty returned to *Tchantchienne*, where having ſtayed ſome Days he repaired to *Peking* to ſolemnize New-Years-Day, which with the Chineze falls on the 2d of February. All the Chief and other Mandarins to the number of ten thouſand and upwards were arrived from their reſpective Provinces to make their Appearance at Court and to congratulate the Emperor on that occaſion. It is to be obſerved that there are five different Claſſes of Mandarins in *China:* Thoſe who were of the firſt Rank had the Privilege of entering the inmoſt Court of the Palace, where they could ſee through the opened Gate of the Hall the Emperor ſitting on his Throne, and congratulate him on their Knees with the ſame Ceremonies which we were obliged to ſubmit to when we had Audience. The Mandarins of the ſecond ſtayed in the ſecond Court, and ſo on to the loweſt who attended in the fifth Court. The reſt of the Emperor's Officers who were no Mandarins, appeared in great Numbers in the Street, and paid their Reſpects in the ſame manner. They were all from the higheſt to the loweſt pompouſly dreſt in Satin richly adorned with Gold of divers Figures, as Dragons, Snakes, Lions, and even Landskips. On their upper Garments on the Breaſt and Back were ſmall Squares,

Chineze New-Year ſolemnized.

Squares, in which were embroidered divers Beasts and Birds, the distinguishing Marks of the several Employments of those who wore them. Military Officers had Lions, Leopards, Tygers, *&c.* the Learned or Doctors of the Law, wore Peacocks, *&c.* In the first Court stood ten Elephants magnificently adorned, into which we and the Jesuits had Leave to enter as well as the Mandarins of the first Rank, and to congratulate the Emperor on this Occasion. Among the Mandarins of the third Rank was one who on New-Year's-Day had just attained the hundredth Year of his Age, and had held that Dignity at the time when the Tartars conquered *China*. To this Man the Emperor sent his first Valet-de-Chambre to let him know that he should have the Honour of being admitted into the Hall to congratulate his Majesty; that upon his entering the Emperor would do him the Favour to rise from his Throne, which Regard however he should remember to have been paid to his advanced Age and not to his Person. This Solemnity being over, the Emperor received many valuable Presents, after which he returned to *Tchantchienne*, where a Fire-work was represented on the fifteenth, at which we and all other Europeans had Orders to be present. First were seen several wooden Figures in the Shape of Men, skirmishing in two Parties with Squibs instead of Arrows; one of which giving way and disappearing, the Conquerors attacked a Town, which was battered and defended for half an Hour, till a Bastion filled with two or three thousand Squibs blew up with a dreadful Report and Rattling. Then appeared

ed on the Rampart ſeveral Men continually turning about and brandiſhing their Swords; below were others who fired at thoſe above, during which appeared two Dragons made of Paper, and illuminated with Candles within, each having a Lanthorn in its Mouth, and being almoſt three Fathoms long. They moved up and down the Place, but ſoon vaniſhed as well as the Men who defended the Town, which the others continued battering till a ſecond Baſtion blew up. The Places of the Beſiegers and Beſieged being ſupplied with new Men, the Attack was vigorouſly carried on. The two Dragons alſo appeared again and moved up and down as before till the Beſieged were obliged to yield, when the Dragons diſappeared, and ſo the Firework ended. The Place on which it was repreſented, was hung on all Sides with ſome thouſands of Lanthorns, which being painted with divers Colours, added no ſmall Ornament to the Shew. During the Fire-work's playing the Emperor ſent ſeveral times to ask us how we liked it. We were told by the Jeſuits that the like had been repreſented before the reigning Emperors for near theſe two thouſand Years paſt without the leaſt Alteration.

The Character of the preſent Emperor of China.

The preſent Emperor of *China*'s Names is *Kamhi*. His Father *Xunchi*, (which ſignifies *fortunate Reign*) was in the Year 1644. proclaimed Emperor of *China*, when he was but ſix Years of Age, being the Son of *Tſunte* King of the *Tartars*, who died in the midſt of his victorious Expedition which he had undertaken to free *China* from inteſtine Diviſions and Devaſtations. *Tſunte* before his Death appointed his Brother to be the young Prince's

Prince's Guardian, which Truſt he diſcharged with ſuch Applauſe that he was called *Amahan* or *Amauang*, that is to ſay *Royal Father*. *Xunchi* himſelf governed well, and reſtored Peace and Tranquillity in the Nation. He was the Founder of the preſent *Tartarian* Family reigning in *China*, which the *Chineze* call *Taycin* or *Tayoir (great Purity)* becauſe the *Tartars*, (ſay they) were ſent by Heaven like a Flood to waſh off the innocent Blood that had been ſpilled, and to quench the Fire of inteſtine Diſcord. *Xunchi* in the twenty fourth Year of his Age being ſeized by an Indiſpoſition which he was ſenſible would prove mortal to him, ſent for his Sons, and after having told them, that his End was drawing near, he asked who among them was ſtrong enough to bear the Burthen of a new conquered Empire. The eldeſt excuſed himſelf on account of his Youth, and deſired the Father to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion as he ſhould think fit; but *Kambi* the youngeſt, being then in his ninth Year, fell on his Knees before the Father's Bed, and with great Reſolution ſaid: "Father, I find my "ſelf ſtrong enough to take upon me the "Burthen of the Adminiſtration in caſe you "can live no longer; I will never loſe out "of my Sight the Examples of my Ance-"ſtors and Predeceſſors, but endeavour with "great Care to govern the Nation to their "Satisfaction." Theſe Words had ſuch Effect with *Xunchi* the Father, that he ſet aſide his eldeſt Son, and declared the other his Succeſſor, under the Guardianſhip of four Perſons by whoſe Advice he was to govern. The firſt Year of *Kambi*'s Reign falls in with

that

that of *Christ* 1662, comprizing part of 1661. He began to reign by himſelf in 1666. In his earlier Years he gave ſignal Proofs of great Strength of Body as well as Mind. He abſtained from Wine, Women, and Sloth, and though according to the national Cuſtom he took many Wives, yet he was hardly ever obſerved to go among them in the Day time. From four in the Morning till Noon he is taken up with peruſing Petitions and tranſacting State-Affairs, the reſt of the Day is ſet apart for warlike Exerciſe and liberal Arts, which latter however have the greater ſhare of his Application. He has greatly improved by the Inſtructions of the Jeſuits, *Ferdinand Verbieſt*, *Thomas Peyrera*, and *Anthony Thomæ*, in Arithmetick, Aſtronomy, Geometry, Muſick and other Sciences; ſo that he is able to examine the *Chineze* upon their own Books, the *Tartars* in military Exercciſes, and the *Europeans* in Mathematicks. From his younger Years he has been much addicted to hunting, but in the beginning of his Reign he had no Leiſure to go far from *Peking*, his Empire being then not yet brought to a State of Tranquillity. But after having quenched three or more Rebellions, he marched with a numerous military Train, or rather Army, into *Tartary* in the Year 1682. to hunt there, which Cuſtom he has ſince obſerved every Year, not ſo much with the Deſign of Sporting and Diverſion, as that of keeping his *Tartars* inured to riding, ſhooting, incamping and other warlike Exercciſes, to prevent their turning effeminate like the *Chineze*. His Fortune, great Underſtanding and Courage appeared in their full Luſtre on his

ſuppreſſing the greateſt and moſt dangerous Conſpiracies before they could cauſe any Commotion in the Empire. No Governor who is juſtly accuſed to him, eſcapes Puniſhment. To the People he is very gracious: He often remitted the Taxes to the Provinces in time of Dearth, and cauſed Money and Rice to the value of ſome Millions to be diſtributed among the Neceſſitous. To the Soldiers he is both ſevere and liberal: Severe, as he always keeps them employed either by his travelling or hunting; Liberal, becauſe he pays their Debts when their own Allowance falls ſhort, and often makes them an extraordinary Preſent of Clothes againſt the Winter. The Merchants in particular who trade with the Ruſſians, receive frequent Marks of his Bounty, for ſometimes when they are not able to make their Payment on the Terms prefixed, he will advance them the Money out of his own Treaſury, to leave no room of Complaint to the Ruſſians of being detained. In the Year 1717. Trade being very dull at *Peking*, ſo that the Ruſſian Merchants could find no Vent for their Goods, he gave Leave to his Subjects to trade with them without paying the uſual Duties, which occaſioned that Year a Deficiency of twenty thouſand Ounces of Silver in his Revenue. The Learned are in great Eſteem with him, however he takes care that they be not burthenſome to the People. This renders his Government ſo glorious, that the *Chineze* diſtinguiſh his Reign by the Name of *Teiping*, *great Tranquillity*. The preſent Emperor, as far as we could learn out of Court, has nineteen Sons and twelve Daughters, who

are all married except two Sons one of thirteen Years old and another of twelve. Three Sons and as many Daughters are dead. Moſt of his Daughters are married in *Tartary*, for he has left no means untried to gain the *Tartarian* Kings and Princes over to his Intereſt, and the greater part of them are at preſent actually his Vaſſals. It is ſurprizing to ſee every Year in January and February in what numbers they come to *Peking*, ſome fifty or ſixty Days Journey, in order to congratulate the Emperor on New-Year's-Day. They are all received with great Civility, the Emperor defrays the Expence of their Stay at *Peking* and preſents them with Veſts and other Clothes. As to his Religion he deſerves to be commended for not having been much addicted to Idolatry during his younger Years; he often ſaid to the Jeſuits, it is not the Firmament nor the Stars which I worſhip, but I adore the living God of Heaven and Earth; he has read abundance of Chriſtian Books, he has granted a Toleration of their Religion in his Empire, and even ſome Years ago made a Preſent to them of fifteen thouſand Ounces of Silver for building a Church. But now in his advanced Years his Wives have drawn him in to apply to the Idols for long Life, which however he ſeems to do rather out of Complaiſance to them, than out of any Confidence in their Gods. Nevertheleſs the Chriſtians have no Reaſon to complain of any hard Uſage on the Emperor's part, though they ſuffer great Hardſhips and Perſecution from the great Men, who aim at extirpating the Chriſtian

Religion out of the Empire. In the Year 1712. a heavy Charge was preferred againſt the Chriſtians, and by the Emperor referred to his Council, who gave Sentence in theſe Words: *We find nothing in this Charge to paſs a Judgment upon*; which Sentence being laid before the Emperor was by him confirmed, and ſo a ſtop put to all further Proceedings and Perſecution, which upon the main turned to the Advantage of the Chriſtians.

THE

THE MANNERS and CUSTOMS OF THE *OSTIACKS*,

A Nation that extends to the Frigid Zone;

How they were, in the Year 1712, converted from Paganiſm to the Chriſtian Religion of the *Grecian* Confeſſion.

With ſome curious Remarks on the

Kingdom of *SIBERIA*,

AND THE

Streights of *Naſſau* or *Waigats*.

Deſcribed by

JOHN BERNARD MÛLLER,

A *Swediſh* Captain of Dragoons, in his Captivity:

And ſent by him to *Petersbourg* the 12th of *December* 1716.

TO

The moſt Serene and moſt Potent

CZARINA,

MADAM

Catharine Alexevna,

Moſt Serene CONSORT to

His Great Czariſh Majeſty,

PETER ALEXIEWITZ,

Autocrator of all *Ruſſia*, &c.

Moſt Serene and moſt Potent Czarina,

YOUR Majeſty's Priſoner and Slave preſumes to approach your Preſence at the Head of your ſimple and poor Subjects the *Oſtiacks*, a Nation inhabiting very near the cold North Pole, and to repreſent to your Majeſty, with the deepeſt Submiſſion, their miſerable State of Life, and innocent Cuſtoms. It was indeed with much Difficulty that I reſolved to appear with them in our needy Condition before ſo great a Princeſs; but I am confident, that even Heaven is moſt pleaſed with ſimple Intentions, and that plain Inno-

cence is preferable to Gold and other external Ornaments. This People comes to express to Your Majesty their Joy, on account of their being brought out of blind Paganism to the Light of the Gospel, by the means of holy Baptism; and to recommend the great Zeal the Right Reverend Archbishop *Simonach Philotheus* has taken, in his advanced Age, to seek for those straggling Sheep in the Desarts, in order to lead them to God. May it please Your Majesty, as a benign and divinely illuminated Princess, graciously to accept of these poor Sheets, and to confer upon us some Share of Your inestimable Favour, which may give me the Assurance of subscribing my self,

Most Gracious CZARINA,

Your Great CZARISH *Majesty's*

Most humble Prisoner and Slave,

Tobolsky,
Dec. 12. 1716.

John Bernard Müller.

TO

TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader,

I Am afraid the very Title Page will but indifferently recommend this Work. Every one will ſhiver at the Thought of a Nation that comes from frozen Parts lying ſo near the North Pole, in ſo pitiful a Dreſs as is no great Means to procure Admittance. Perſons of a nice Taſte will hardly venture upon the Peruſal of thoſe Sheets without a continual Apprehenſion of being offended with the Smoak and Stench of thoſe Places from whence they are ſent. Beſides what good Things can they promiſe to themſelves from Siberia, the Goal of miſerable Captives, and the Priſon of unhappy Exiles, where the raw Climate and ſevere Cold chills the Force of Imagination and ſtupifies the Faculties of the Mind; conſequently what can they expect from the Author, a Captive and a Soldier too, who has no Company but his own melancholy Thoughts, who dreads the Riſe of the Sun as the beginning of a hungry and ſorrowful Day, and trembles at the approach of the Night, which he is to paſs reſtleſs on a hard and uncomfortable Bed; his Money is loſt with his Liberty, his Houſekeeping is Want, and his Diet bitter Cares. However, gentle Reader, if you will ſet aſide

Prejudices,

Prejudices, there may ſtill be in Siberia *Treaſure enough to engage your Attention. The ſavage Natives there range over the moſt frightful Deſarts, and ſearch the dangerous Dens of wild Beaſts, for the precious Skins of Sables, ſilver Ermins, and black Foxes, the value of which Gold can hardly equal. The delightful ſcent of Musk, which perfumes the Frontiers of* Siberia *will make large amends for the offenſive Smell which you apprehend from the needy and nauſeous* Oſtiacks. *They preſent themſelves before you with no other Intent than to rouſe the drowſy World to the Praiſe of God. As for my ſelf, I offer you a Deſcription of the Cuſtoms and Manners of that Nation, together with ſeveral Obſervations on a part of the Globe which is very little known. So many Curioſities, that after all it is no great matter whether you learn them from a Soldier or a Scholar. The greater part of them I have gathered from my own Experience, Fortune having ordered it ſo, that the great Deſire of ſeeing foreign Countries, which I entertained ever ſince my moſt tender Years, has been accompliſhed during my Captivity, though in a manner ſo different from the pleaſing Ideas I had then formed to my ſelf, that I have ſince in a frightful Corner of the Earth entirely weaned my ſelf of that irregular Appetite of roving. I was ſo well in favour with the Metropolitan of* Siberia *(of whom I ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter) that he made me one of his Retinue, when we went to convert thoſe poor People to Chriſtianity. The greater part of the following Account conſiſts of my own Obſervations made in this long Journey, and as for the reſt I learned it from Perſons, on whoſe Sincerity I was perſuaded I might rely. In caſe you are*

pleaſed

pleaſed with this Performance, it is reaſonable for me to expect, you will at the ſame time pity me for enduring ſo long a Captivity in ſo wild a Country: But I will excuſe you for your Compaſſion, which can afford me neither Comfort nor Relief. Let us rather joyn in hearty Repentance for our many and great Sins, in order to appeaſe the Anger of Almighty God, and in fervent Prayers that he will be pleaſed at length to diſpoſe the inflamed Minds of Princes to Peace. Yet, before I conclude, I cannot forbear repeating after Ovid, *who died an Exile, his own Words, ſo well ſuiting my Caſe that they never are out of my Thoughts:*

Parve, nec invideo, ſine me Liber ibis in Urbem,
Heu mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!

THE

THE Manners and Customs OF THE *OSTIACKS*, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the State of the Kingdom of Siberia, *and of the Original of the* Ostiacks.

THERE have been hitherto very few Russian Writers, and hardly any foreign Authors at all, who did undertake to give a particular Account of all *Siberia*, especially of the Nation of the *Ostiacks*; who being as it were hid in their cold and frozen Climate from the rest of the World, and living in the grossest Ignorance, one cannot expect to find among

among them any ancient Records that might inform us of their Original. Their Neighbours perhaps did not think it worth their while to inquire into the State of a Country ſo horrid and barren, and other Foreigners neither had Encouragement, nor even ſo much as Leave to travel amongſt thoſe People. But the Dawn of the Goſpel having lately appeared to thoſe unfortunate Creatures, who have hitherto groped and lain buried as it were in long Nights of natural, as well as ſpiritual Darkneſs, I hope it will not be diſagreeable to my Readers to have ſome Light of the Country, as well as its Inhabitants.

The Kingdom of *Siberia* is that Part of the terraqueous Globe, that lies North and North Eaſt between the fifty ſeventh Degree of Latitude and the Northern frigid Zone, which has hitherto ſet Bounds to all further Diſcoveries. Eaſtward it borders upon *Mangaſea*, (the Country inhabited by the *Samoieds* and the *Swetlobi*) and *Turuchan*, extending as far as *Camſhatky*, a Country firſt diſcovered about twenty Years ago, and reduced to the Obedience of the *Ruſſian* Empire. Southward it reaches as far as *Jerkutsky*, a Frontier Town towards the *Chineſe* Empire. Weſtward it is bordered by the *Mongalians*, the *Tartars* of *Ajuka*, *Kontaſch*, (both of which are ſo called from their reſpective Princes *Ajuka* and *Kontaſch*) and *Bucharia*, (who are ſubject to *Kontaſch*.) The latter of theſe *Tartars* are reckoned an ingenious and civilized Nation, and are ſaid much to reſemble the *Chineze* in their Way of Life.

An ancient *Ruſſian* Author, whoſe Name is not known, gives the following Account of

Siberia in general: " *Siberia*, says he, is a " Northern Tract of Land, two thousand " Wersts (or three hundred thirty three Ger- " man Miles) distant from *Moskow*. This " Kingdom is divided from *Russia* by the " many high and rocky Mountains reaching " up to the Clouds, which Providence seems " to have designed for a Wall and Fortifica- " tion. All sorts of Trees, as Cedars, and " the like, grow upon them: The Inhabi- " tants hunt Beasts of divers Sorts, the Skins " of which serve them both for their Dress " and Ornament. Those which they use for " their Dress, are Elks, Roebucks, Stags, " Hares, *&c.* and for Ornament, Beavers, " Hyenas, Martens, Sables, Foxes, and the " like. From among those Mountains spring " many Rivers, Part of which run into *Rus-* " *sia*, and Part into *Siberia*, the Waters of " which are sweet, and full of Fishes. The " first River that waters *Siberia*, is the *Tura*, " the Banks of which are inhabited by the " *Vagulitzes*, who have their own Language, " and worship the Devil under their Idols; " the second River is called *Tagill*, and the " third *Nitza*; they join all three into one " which preserves the Name of *Tura*, till it " mixes with the *Tobol*, which runs into the " *Irtis*, and the *Irtis* into the great *Oby*. A- " long those Rivers live Numbers of Hea- " then *Tartars*, *Calmucks*, *Mongalians*, the " *Piejaga-Horda*, *Ostiacks*, *Samoieds*, and o- " ther Pagans, who have no Knowledge of " God. The *Tartars* are *Mahometans*. But " the *Calmucks* hold a Law, which the Pa- " rents transmit to their Children; but none " of them can tell from whence they had it;

" for

" for they know nothing of the Uſe of Let-
" ters. The *Piejaga-Horda*, the *Oſtiacks*, and
" *Samoieds*, worſhip Idols, live without any
" Law, make Offerings to the Gods of their
" own making, imagining that from them they
" have their Subſiſtence, Neceſſaries, and
" Food; they know nothing of Bread, but
" eat raw Fleſh, and Carrion of all ſorts of
" Beaſts without dreſſing it, as alſo Graſs and
" Roots, and rather drink Blood than Wa-
" ter. The great River *Oby* falls into the
" *Guba* (Gulph) *Mangaſea*, which has an
" Out-let into the great Ocean, ſurrounded
" with great Mountains of Ice, that have ſub-
" ſiſted from ancient Times; for the Sun ne-
" ver diſſolves it, though it is from Time to
" Time ſhaken by the Winds; thoſe Places
" are inacceſſible, conſequently altogether
" unknown, *&c.*" So far the aboveſaid ano-
nymous Author.

It is not eaſy to determine, whether *Siberia* in ancient Times was called by the ſame Name, or no; though ſome Authors ſay, that a certain *Siberian* Prince, whoſe Name was *Mahmet*, having built a new Town on the River *Irtis*, called it *Sibir*, which, in the *Tartarian* Language, ſignified as much as Metropolis, and that from thence the whole Country was afterwards called *Siberia*. All that can be gathered from the ſcattered Remains of Hiſtory, relating to the former Government of this Country, amounts to this: On the River *Uchim*, which falls into the *Irtis*, reigned a King or Czar, whoſe Name was *On*, of the Mahometan Religion. *Zingidi*, one of his Subjects, who was but an ordinary Man, being diſſatisfied with his Government,

and

and having got the common People on his Side, dethroned King *On*, and, after having killed him, ſoon took Poſſeſſion of the Crown. He governed with good Succeſs: Some Years after, being informed, that *On*'s Son, *Taibuga*, having eſcaped his Father's Fate by flying, lived privately among his Subjects; he received him with Kindneſs, and gave him a Principality. *Taibuga* continued for ſome Years at Court, and, by his prudent Conduct, inſinuated himſelf in *Zingidi*'s Favour to that Degree, that he truſted him with the Command of an Army, with which the young Prince marched on an Expedition along the *Irtis* towards the River *Oby*, and having carried all before him, returned to *Zingidi* laden with Spoils. His Bravery ſo much recommended him to the King, that he gave him Leave to ſettle wherever he liked: *Taibuga* accepted of this Offer, and, with his Family and Retinue, removed to the Banks of the River *Tura*, where he built a Town, which he called *On-Zingidin*, on the ſame Place where now ſtands *Tumen*. *Zingidi* dying without Iſſue, left the Kingdom to *Taibuga*, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Chod*, whoſe Son *Mar* married a Siſter of *Upak* the King of *Caſan*; but *Upak* made War againſt *Mar*, conquered *Siberia*, and ſettled there. He reigned many Years, and even out-lived *Mar*'s two Sons, *Obder* and *Jerbelack*, who both died a natural Death: But *Obder*'s Son *Mahmed*, having gathered Forces, overthrew *Upak* the King of *Caſan*, cut him off, and razed the new City *On-Zingidin*, which *Taibuga* had built. After this he penetrated further into *Siberia*, and built a City on the River *Irtis*, and

called it *Sibir*, which in after-times was inlarged by the *Ruſſians*, and by them called *Tobolsky*. He was ſucceeded by *Agyſh*, *Jerbelack*'s Son, as was *Agyſh* by *Kuſim*, *Mahmed*'s Son. *Kuſim*'s two Sons, *Gotiger* and *Beckbula*, were killed by the Czar *Kutſium*, a Prince of the Hords of the *Coſacks*, who took Poſſeſſion of all *Siberia*, and was the firſt who called himſelf King of it: He was of the Mahometan Faith. He had not reigned long, when it happened, that a *Hetman* or General, whoſe Name was *Germack Timophewitz*, who for ſome Time had made Excurſions with his *Coſacks* along the *Wolga*, was ſo cloſely purſued by the Czar of *Ruſſia*, *Ivan Baſilowitz*, that, after having loſt many of his Gang, who were ſeized in their Robberies, and executed, he was obliged to fly with five hundred and forty *Coſacks* to *Solikamsky*: From thence he went with his *Coſacks* further into *Siberia*, where he defeated *Kutſium* in ſeveral Battels, and drove him entirely out of the Country. But as the ſaid *Germack* did not think himſelf able to maintain his Conqueſt, and beſides was deſirous of being reconciled to the Czar, he ſent Meſſengers to make an Offer of that Kingdom to the *Ruſſians*, which was readily accepted. Accordingly they took Poſſeſſion of it, ſending *Woiwodes* thither to govern it; they rebuilt and inlarged the Cities of *On-Zingidin* and *Sibir*, and changed their Names into thoſe of *Tumen* and *Tobolsky*.

Siberia, generally ſpeaking, abounds in Minerals and Oar, eſpecially of Copper and Iron. In many Places Stones are found on the Surface of the Ground, rich in Copper Oar; but there being as yet no Regulation for

working the Mines, the Inhabitants are not much the better for it. In other Parts there is Quantity of Iron and Steel of tolerable Goodneſs, and in ſeveral Places there are promiſing Marks of Silver Oar; for the digging and ſmelting of which, Works have been ſet up by the preſent Czar's Orders at *Argun*; but as they are not yet brought to Perfection, it cannot be judged what the yearly Profit would amount to. In the high Mountains of *Werchaturia* there is abundance of Cryſtal, which is harder than any other in *Europe*, and is a ſort of Baſtard Jaſper. The River *Oby* throws divers ſorts of Pebbles on its Shores, among which there are ſome clear and tranſparent of white and red Colours, much like Agates: The *Ruſſians* cut Flowers and other Figures upon them, and wear them in their Rings.

There is a Curioſity in *Siberia*, no where elſe to be met with in any Part of the World, for ought I know. This is what the Inhabitants call *Mamant*, which is found in the Earth in ſeveral Places, particularly in ſandy Ground. It looks like Ivory both as to Colour and Grain. The common Opinion of the Inhabitants is, that they are real Elephants Teeth, and have lain buried ever ſince the univerſal Deluge. Some of our Countrymen think it to be the *Ebur foſſile*, and conſequently a Product of the Earth, which was likewiſe my Opinion for a good while. Others again maintain, that they are the Horns of a live huge Beaſt, which lives in Moraſſes and ſubterraneous Caves, ſubſiſting by the Mud, and working it ſelf by the Help of its Horns through the Mire and Earth; but when it chances to meet with ſandy Ground, the

Sands rowling after it ſo cloſe, that, by reaſon of its Unweildineſs, it cannot turn it ſelf again, it ſticks faſt at laſt and periſhes. I have ſpoke with many Perſons, who averred to me for the greateſt Truth, that beyond *Beroſowa* they ſaw ſuch Beaſts in the Caves of the high Mountains there, which are monſtrous according to their Deſcription, being four or five Ells high, and about three Fathoms long, of a greyiſh Coat, a long Head, and a very broad Forehead, on both Sides of which juſt above the Eyes, they ſay, ſtand the foreſaid Horns, which it can move, and lay croſs-ways over each other. In walking it is ſaid to be able to ſtretch it ſelf to a great Length, and alſo to contract it ſelf into a ſhort Compaſs. Its Legs are, as to the Bigneſs, like thoſe of a Bear. Notwithſtanding theſe Accounts, one does not know how far to rely on them, for that Nation do not trouble themſelves about exact Enquiries of that Nature, and care but little for Curioſities, any further than it is for their own Profit. Be that as it will, the Notion that theſe Bones are real Elephants Teeth, cannot be ſupported by any probable Argument, conſidering that Elephants are utterly unknown in thoſe Parts, nor could they ſubſiſt in that cold Climate, if they were carried thither: And yet theſe Teeth or Horns are moſtly met with in the coldeſt Places of *Siberia*; as for Inſtance, at *Jakutsky*, *Beroſowa*, *Mangaſea*, *Obder*. To believe that they have lain under Ground ever ſince the univerſal Deluge, is ſo abſurd, that it needs no further Refutation. The Opinion that they are the *Ebur foſſile*, or ſome other peculiar Product of the Earth, has indeed ſome Probability in it,

foraſmuch as it is reported, that in ſome Parts of *Sicily*, where they want Wood, they dig ſomething like it out of the Earth that ſupplies that Defect. *England* produces Coals that grow under Ground; in other Countries the Boſom of the Earth yields Rock-Salt, not inferior to that which is prepared on its Surface, and why ſhould Nature be leſs able to ingender ſuch Bones in this Country, as it does the *Ebur foſſile* in many others? But this Conjecture alſo will not hold againſt an Objection drawn from Experience; for it is obſerved that many times ſuch Horns have been found all bloody at the broken End, which is generally hollow, and filled with a Matter like concreted Blood. Beſides, they often find Skulls and Jaw-bones with Molar-Teeth or Grinders in them of a prodigious Size, the Subſtance of which one cannot determine, whether it is Stone or Bone; I my ſelf, and ſeveral of my Fellow-Priſoners, have often ſeen ſuch Teeth, one of which weighed twenty or twenty four Pounds and better. The Natives make divers ſorts of Work of it; it is in every reſpect like our Ivory, except that it is more rough and brittle, and eaſily changes its white Colour, and turns yellow in Water or Heat.

Another ſtrange Mineral is found on the higheſt Mountains and Rocks in this Country: They call it *Kamine Maſla* or Stone-Butter. The Heat of the Sun makes it trickle down from the Rocks on which it ſettles like a bright yellow Chalk, it diſſolves in Water like Salt, and is of a ſharp Taſte like Copperas. They aſcribe to it many Virtues, and the Natives make uſe of it in many Diſtempers, particularly

ticularly againſt the Bloody-Flux. It will hardly agree with our Conſtitutions, nor do I remember that ever any of us made uſe of it: But the *Ruſſians* venture upon Remedies much more dangerous; for in the venereal Diſeaſe they take *Mercury ſublimate*, either without any Vehicle at all, or in a ſour Pap or Porridge of Oatmeal; they alſo pour ſtrong Vinegar upon *vomiting Nuts*, *(Nux vomica)* which they let ſtand for ſome Time in a warm Place, and give every Day a Draught of it to the Perſon that labours under ſuch a Diſtemper, which fetches all the Infection out of the Blood and the very Bones. But this Medicine affects the Patient to that Degree for two or three Hours, as if he was dead drunk, and if they give him too much of it, it throws him into Convulſion-Fits, which contract his Hands and Feet; however that Symptom is ſoon alleviated by a good Dram of Brandy. During this Cure they obſerve no Diet, nor are they terrified by thoſe violent Remedies; but as ſoon as the Fit is over, they go into the open Air, which, however, many Times coſts them their Lives.

That noble Animal, the Musk-Cat, is often ſeen within the Boundaries of *Siberia*; it is ſaid to be of the Size of a Buck, and they report of it that its great Laſciviouſneſs often makes its Navel burſt, from whence iſſues a great Quantity of Blood, which fills the Woods with its pleaſant Scent: For the Receptacle of that noble Perfume, called Musk, is the Navel, and not the Teſticles, as ſome erroneouſly have given out.

I am now proceeding to the Nation of the *Oſtiacks* in particular. They begin three

Days Journey from *Tobolsky*, the Capital of *Siberia*, and extend along the River *Irtis* to the Place where it falls into the *Oby*; from thence they ſpread on one Side as far as *Narim*, and on the other all along the ſaid *Oby* by *Samaroff*, *Kotskoy*, *Kaſim*, *Bereſowa*, and ſo on to the *Guba* or Gulph, and from the *Guba* to the *Streights* of *Waigats*, or *Fretum Naſſovium*, inhabiting the Banks of the many Rivers that fall into the *Oby* on the Weſt-Side, as the *Conda*, *Soſwa*, *Lappim*, *Sob*, and others. Their Neighbours on the *Conda* are the *Vagulitzes*, and near the Streights Eaſtward the *Samoieds*.

The *Oby* is one of the greateſt Rivers of *Europe*, which the Geographers commonly aſſign for the Boundary of that Part of the World towards the North. It furniſhes not only the *Oſtiacks* abundantly with what they want for Subſiſtence, but even ſupplies the greater Part of *Siberia* with abundance of Fiſh of different Sorts. Its Banks are almoſt every where lined with thick Foreſts and Mountains, and there is hardly any level Country to be met with. In many Places it forms abundance of ſmall Iſlands which are neither cultivated nor inhabited. It diſcharges it ſelf into a Bay, which the *Ruſſians* call *Guba Taſſarſkoja*.

This *Guba*, according to the Meaning of the *Sclavonian* Word, is a Conjunction of many Rivers, for it receives not only the *Oby*, but alſo the Rivers *Nadim*, *Pur*, and *Taſs*. It is very ſpacious, holding, by what may be gueſſed, ſome hundred German Miles in length, and at leaſt twenty in breadth, which is not every where alike. The Cold is ſo ſevere,

that

that the Ice does not melt even in Summer, but ſwims in Flakes upon the Water, which for this Reaſon is hardly navigable; for the Ice gathers ſo faſt about the *Struſes*, (a ſort of Veſſel which they uſe in that Sea) that while they are buſy with breaking it on one Side with long Poles, and puſhing it off, they are beſet with it on the other Side, that it is almoſt impoſſible to get through. Beſides, the Bottom of the Sea being muddy, it happens that where they can reach the Ground, the Poles ſtick ſo faſt in the Mud, that, by pulling them out, the Veſſel is drawn ſo much back again as it advanced before by puſhing: After all, the frequent Tempeſts commonly break thoſe *Struſes* to pieces, and render the Navigation on the *Guba* extremely dangerous.

On the River *Taſs*, four Days Journey up before it falls into the *Guba*, lies the Town *Stara-* (Old) *Mangaſea*, the Inhabitants of which are of the Grecian Religion, and call themſelves *Suetlobi*. They lead a poor Life; of Bread they know nothing, unleſs it be brought to them from other Places with the greateſt Difficulty; they live upon Fiſh, and their Drink is Train-oil, or Water out of the *Guba*. This hard and miſerable Way of Life has at laſt made great Part of the Inhabitants of *Stara Mangaſea* abandon the Place, and remove Eaſtward on the Continent, where they have built another Town, which they call *Nova-Mangaſea*. However, a few of them have continued where they were before, and go on there in the moſt uncomfortable Life that mortal Men can endure. In Winter their Dogs and Rain-deer carry them wherever

they have a mind to go, even over the *Guba*, there being no Mountains on this Side; but they muſt be very much upon their Guard againſt wild Beaſts, and ſometimes they are overtaken by Tempeſts in Winter, which lay the *Guba* open, and make the Water flow. The *Ruſſians* make uſe of the ſame Seaſon for gathering the Czar's Taxes, and make great Profit by ſelling the little Corn and Meal they can carry thither upon their Sleds, or with Ships in Summer.

The *Oby* having run through the *Guba*, falls into the Streights called *Waigats*, or *Fretum Naſſovium*, which is on both Sides fortified by Nature with high Rocks that are perpetually covered with Snow and Ice, which form a Ridge of icy Mountains, extending, as it is ſaid, above one hundred German Miles in length towards the Pole.

On the other Side of the Streights appears the *New-Land*, in the *Ruſſian* Language, *Nova Zemla**. This is what the Dutch have called the Iſle of *Waigats*, lying juſt oppoſite to the Place where the *Oby* falls into the *Icy Sea*. The *Oſtiacks* and *Samoieds* often venture over thoſe high Rocks into the Country, where they kill Elks and Rain-Deer; but they are obliged moſt carefully to obſerve the Wind, and if by certain Signs they foreſee, that the Wind ſets in to blow from *Nova Zemla*, that is, North, there is no further ſtaying for them on the flat Country, but they retire in great Haſte to look out for ſome Caves

* Nova *in Ruſſian ſignifies* New, *and* Zemla, Earth; *conſequently this Name is wrong ſpelt* Zembla, *in the ordinary Maps.*

and

and Hollows to ſhelter themſelves till the Wind changes or abates; but if it is their Misfortune not to find or timely to reach thoſe Places of Retreat, the ſharp Wind outright kills them, and for this Reaſon they ſeldom venture to go to *Nova Zemla*, for as much as few return who go thither. One cannot learn from them with any Certainty whether that Country is inhabited; ſome indeed pretend to have ſeen People there, but at a diſtance and without talking to them: But others contradict it and poſitively affirm, that thoſe dangerous North Winds make it impoſſible for any Man to live there.

This Country therefore being ſituate in the frigid Zone conſequently naturally exceeding cold, and the Rays of the Sun being of no Effect between thoſe high Rocks, it is eaſy to believe, that the Ice there never melts but laſts Winter and Summer, except when the Wind ſtrikes through the *Streights*, and breaks the Ice. The Water that comes out of the *Oby* into the *Icy-Sea*, forthwith congeals, whence one might reaſonably conclude, that ſeeing ſuch vaſt quantities of Water have run every Year ſince the Creation of the World out of the *Oby* and other Rivers into that Sea, the Ice muſt have grown higher and forced the Water back again into the *Oby*; but Experience contradicts this, for the height of the Ice is always the ſame. Of this the People can give no Reaſon. All they can tell is that the Wind ſometimes ſhakes and ſhatters the Ice that lies on the Mountains, and that the Ice in the *Streights* often ſinks, and bends towards the Middle. From this I draw the Conjecture that there

is

is ſomewhere in thoſe *Streights* or in the *Icy-Sea* ſuch a ſubterraneous Out-let or Paſſage for all this Water, as there are ſeveral in the great Ocean and other Seas, and that accordingly as the Ice increaſes on the Surface, it melts at the ſame time inſenſibly from underneath, as a Proof of which may be alledged that if a Piece of Ice is let down on a String into the Water, it melts, and a Fiſh which ſeems to have died of the Froſt, revives again as it were as ſoon as it is put into the Water. For as the ſubterraneous Fire hinders the great Froſt to penetrate deep into the Earth, ſo the ſame may make the Ice melt away underneath, in the like Proportion as it increaſes on the Surface. And then part of the Waters being drained by the Out-let, the Ice loſes its Support, conſequently bends towards the Level of the Water, and ſo keeps always equal on the Surface in the *Streights*. Nor do I ſee any Occaſion to ſuppoſe that ſuch an *Eurypus* or Abyſs can be no where elſe but under the Arctic Pole, where they pretend that all the Waters are ſwallowed and come out again at the Antarctick; for thoſe Abyſſes which we already know, may be judged ſufficient for carrying off thoſe Waters. Beſides People who have been a great deal nearer the Pole than theſe Streights, *viz.* On the other ſide of *Nova Zemla*, never obſerved any thing like ſuch an Abyſs: And on the ſide of *America* there are *Hudſon*'s and *Davis*'s Streights up high enough towards the Pole, where Navigators were hindered from proceeding further by nothing but Ice and Cold; of the pretended great Abyſs and the Attraction or ſtrong Current

Current bearing away towards the Pole, they obſerved nothing at all. But why it is poſſible to approach nearer to the Pole further North than the Streights of *Waigats*, where they meet with no continual Ice but open Water, this Reaſon may be given, that the Water being ſhut up in thoſe Streights, can have no ſufficient Motion; but where there is Motion there is warmth, and where there is no Motion there is congealing, as it happens in theſe Streights. Beſides thoſe narrow Seas have a Support on the Land, and are not ſo eaſily ſhaken, except when the Wind directly ſtrikes through and rends the Ice, or when the Water underneath ſinks, a thing which is obſerved even in Rivers. The Wind for the moſt part blowing from *Nova Zemla*, it makes the Air in all the neighbouring Parts that are inhabited, ſo exceſſive cold, that even at *Tobolsky* which lies in the fifty ſeventh Degree and ſome Minutes Latitude there are no Fruit-Trees, nor at or about *Beroſowa* under the ſixty or ſixty ſecond Degree the leaſt Garden Fruit that comes to ripen, nor is the Land able to be tilled and bear Corn, conſequently the *Ruſſians* who live in the Towns are obliged to provide themſelves in time with the neceſſary Corn for the whole Year. And yet near *Stockholm*, which Place lies almoſt under the ſame Elevation, the Country not only is well cultivated, but even produces the fineſt Fruit and other Plants of the Earth. This Difference probably ariſes in one reſpect from the ſharp Winds blowing from *Nova Zemla* and the Ice-Mountains, which often reign in Summer and ſtrike upon thoſe Countries, particularly where the

Land

Land is level and not surrounded by high Mountains. But it is otherwise with respect to *Sweden*, the Northern Parts of which are sheltered by high Mountains, which keep off those Winds or break their Force. Even about *Abo*, which lies in the sixty first Degree, and still further North on that Side to sixty three and sixty four Degrees, there are Mountains, in which there is Silver-Oar, and the Land is sufficiently fruitful; which it seems, is the Effect of subterraneous Fire, which meeting with Cavities in the Entrails of those Mountains penetrates up to the Crust of the Earth and by its warm Exhalations promotes the ripening of all sorts of Plants and Herbs: But in this Country we speak of, it is likely this Fire keeps a great deal nearer the Center of the Globe, in order to leave a free Passage to the abovementioned Out-lets or Abysses of the Sea, and to prevent its breaking through the porous Earth into the Cavities which naturally must be occasioned by the subterraneous Fire. But that this Fire commonly draws towards Mountains, and is not hindered by the Coldness of the Climate; is evident from Mount *Hecla* in the cold *Iceland* and other Vulcano's, which are so many Vent-holes for the said subterraneous Fire to prevent its being smothered in the Bosom of the Earth.

On this Side of the Streights Nature has prepared an Opening for the Waters of the *Oby*, by hollowing the Rocks on both Sides to let the Stream run through. If the Spring is dry so that the Ice which comes from the other Rivers, can melt before it reaches that Excavation on the Streights, those Rivers, *viz.*

viz. Oby, Irtis, Conda, Soſma, &c. are very low all the remaining part of the Year. But if the Spring happens to be wet and cold, the Ice gathers and ſettles at the Mouth, and ſtems the Waters to that Degree, that they ſwell and overflow all the low Land on their Banks.

The Inducement which made the *Oſtiacks* ſettle in ſuch an horrid Country, was their unwillingneſs to renounce their Idolatry. It is proved from ancient Records, that this Nation formerly inhabited the Province of *Weliky Permia* about *Solikamski*, where the ancient Biſhop *Stephen* converted the Pagans to the Chriſtian Religion, ſome of whom embraced it and remained in the Country, but others abandoned their Habitations and the Seat of their Anceſtors, and went to hide themſelves in this raw Climate: This is confirmed by their Language which agrees as yet in many reſpects with that of *Permia*; about *Tobolsky* and *Narim* it is mixt by reaſon of the Converſation with the *Tartars* that live there, but that which is ſpoke by thoſe who live near the Streights, and probably went thither directly from *Werchaturia* along the Rocks, preſerves a nearer Relation with that of *Permia*.

The *Ruſſians* calls this Nation *Oſtiaki*, as it were *Oſtianki*, Remains, the reſt of a fugitive Nation: But they themſelves have changed the Name their Anceſtors bore, and call themſelves *Chontiſchi*, and the Diſtrict they inhabit *Gandimich*, though thoſe Words have not the leaſt Signification or Etymology in their Tongue. It is probable the Fear of being diſcovered was the Reaſon why they would not

call themselves *Permsky* or *Permians*, but changed their original Name.

Their Language is entirely different from those of the *Samoieds* and *Vagulitzes*, and though they are all Neighbours, yet they cannot understand each other without Interpreters. There are some few Words in the *Ostiack* Language that sound like *Latin*, as for instance *Juva*, Help; *Nemen* for *Nomen*, the Name: But there are many more of the *Esthonian* or *Eastlandish* Language though somewhat corrupted; the Numbers especially are the same, *viz.* *ûx*, one; *kax*, two; *kolm*, three; and so on. The want of Writings and Records makes it impossible to determine what sort of Commerce or Relation there may have been in ancient Times between Nations so remote from each other, so as to leave among the *Ostiacks* the Footsteps of the Language of the former *. The *Ostiacks* are of a middling Size, and it is a rare thing to see a tall Person among them. They are generally well proportioned like any of the Europeans, except that the miserable Dress disgraces the greatest part of them, who either for Want or Carelessness do not much study to mend it. But their Neighbours are of an ill-favoured Aspect, though not quite so ugly as the hideous *Calmucks*.

* *Compare this Passage with what is said above of the* Ostiacks, *concerning their being descended of the ancient heathen* Goths; Vol. I. pag. 166.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Manners and Way of Life of the Oſtiacks.

UPON the Birth of a Child, the Father either adviſes with ſome *Ruſſian* how to name it, or elſe beſtows upon it the Name of ſome Creature he firſt meets with, and as their Dogs and Rain-deer are to them what Cattle are to other People, it commonly falls out that the Child gets a Name of either of thoſe Animals, and it is a common Thing among them to hear one call the other *Sabatsky*, My little Dog. Others uſe to name their Children according to the Order of their Birth, the Eldeſt, the Middlemoſt, the Youngeſt, the Fourth, the Fifth, and ſo on according to their reſpective Ages. Others fix a Name upon their Children from ſome natural Defect or other diſtinguiſhing Mark, as being lame, near-ſighted, pitted with the Small-Pox, red-haired or fair.

Thoſe People being utter Strangers to all Arts and Sciences, even Reading and Writing, and living in a downright State of Nature, it is eaſy to imagine, that their Society is not kept up by any Ties of Morality or Civil Law, any farther than the repeated Practice of a prevailing Cuſtom has eſtabliſhed among them, or what the eternal Law of Nature teaches them to be obſerved for the Preſervation

servation of human Society, or to be avoided out of a secret Shame and for fear of Reproach. Accordingly, this State directs them in the Education of their Children: A Father cannot bring up his Sons to Arts and Handicrafts, of which he has no Notion himself; the main Concern is to put them in a Way to provide for themselves as well as their uncomfortable Life will allow: Fishing, handling the Bow, rambling through the Woods and killing Deer and wild Beasts, is the Business he trains them up to from their Childhood. In Summer they catch and dry as many Fish as will serve them for the Winter, and when that comes on, they go with their Dogs into the Woods and Wilderness to kill Sables, Ermines, Foxes, Bears, Elks, Rain-deer, Martens, *&c.* A certain quantity of those Skins is given to the Sovereign as a Tax, the rest is sold either to him for a settled Price, or to private Persons, provided they are not of that sort which they are not allowed to dispose of.

Their general Diet are Fish, with which the *Oby* and other Rivers plentifully supply them: They eat them without Bread or Salt, which few of them taste, though both might be had in some Places, but the Generality are too poor to purchase either. Besides Fish they eat in the Winter time Birds, and the Flesh of Rain-deer; in Summer they catch wild Geese and Ducks, with which the Morasses and Pools are stocked; they observe the time when the old Ones cast their Feathers, and the young Ones are not yet fledged. Their Drink is Water which they take out of the River with a Bowl made of Birch-Bark;

Bark; if they have hunted a wild Beast of any sort, or killed a Rain-deer, Horse or what else they can catch, they drink the warm Blood; but if they have a mind to make much of themselves, they steep a Piece of dried Fish in Train-oil, or even take a good Draught of the Oil. Chineze *Char* or Tobacco, is what they love best of all, but their way of smoaking it is different from that of other Nations, who blow the Smoak out of their Mouths again; for they first take a little Water into their Mouths, and then sit down on the Ground, and swallow it with the Smoak, which after some Whiffs entirely overcomes them; after a Fit or two they recover their Senses again, and throw out the Phlegm. This they repeat so often as they please or their *Char* lasts, not only the Men but also the Women, and they even use their Children to it from their tender Years, it being as wholesome to them as any Physick to carry off the Slime arising from Fish and Train-oil.

Their Habitations are small square Huts made of Shrubs, and covered with Birch-Bark to keep out Rain and Snow; along the Sides within are their Sleeping-places, in the midst of it is the Hearth or Firing-place, on which they continually burn Brush-wood. Their Houshold-stuff consists of Fishing-Boats, Nets, Bows and Arrows, and Utensils made of Birch-Bark, out of which they eat and drink. Sometimes one may meet with a Hatchet among them, however few are so rich as that comes to, but satisfy themselves with a Knife or two. Their Dogs are their Guards and serve them also for hunt-

ing; they feed them with Fish. Extreme Poverty surrounds them on all Sides; the only Notion they have of Riches is according to the number of Rain-deer, of which some keep a thousand. They remove their pitiful Cottages as often as they think fit: In Winter they usually place them in the midst of thick Woods or frightful Deserts where any other People would think it impossible to live, and work themselves through Snow and Ice into the Earth to fence themselves against the Rigours and Horrors of the Cold: In Summer they settle on the Banks of the Rivers the better to attend their fishing. This removing causes them no Trouble, they meet every where with Materials for new Habitations, and their Poverty renders their Household-goods not in the least cumbersome when they are transmigrating from one Place to another. Their Rain-deer and Dogs serve them instead of Horses or other Carriage; they put six and even twelve Dogs to a Sled and so travel along with an incredible Swiftness. Their Sleds are four or five Ells in length, and half an Ell in breath; a Man may lift them up with one Hand, for the Feet of it are not above an Inch thick, and the Laths of which the rest of the Machine is made, much thinner. Unless one sees it, one would hardly believe the Strength and Dexterity of those Dogs in drawing that sort of Carriage. As there are neither Horses nor other Conveniencies to be had in this Country, and if there were any, would be of no Service in travelling over the deep Snows, all Journeys are performed by the help of these Dogs or with Rain-deer. The Passenger having packt

packt his Things upon the Sled, and laid himſelf on the Top well covered with Rain-deer Skins and other Furs, the Dogs (which as to their Size are like Maſtiffs or Bull-Dogs) run along with their Load under continual howling and barking till the next *Iam* or Stage without miſſing their Way; if the diſtance from one *Iam* to another happens to be ſomewhat greater than ordinary, the Dogs lay themſelves down before the Sled to reſt, and after being fed with Fiſh, proceed till they reach the *Iam*, where freſh Relays ſtand ready to relieve them. Some of the *Oſtiacks*, and particularly the *Samoieds* travel with Rain-deer even in Summer on a ſort of Carriage not much unlike Sleds, lined underneath with Rain-deer Skin, in ſuch manner that the Hair ſlides over the Graſs with the Grain; if they meet with a River in their Way, the Rain-deer ſwims over and draws the Sled after it.

The Earth, which in other Parts of the World, like a kind Mother opens her Boſom to Men and Beaſts for their Subſiſtence, yields almoſt no Benefit at all to the *Oſtiacks*, unleſs it be a few wild Roots, which this rough Climate is able to produce for their Food. They are Strangers to Agriculture as well as breeding of Cattle; they keep neither Cows nor Horſes, neither Sheep nor Poultry, of which if they had any, it would ſoon be deſtroyed by their Dogs, as the *Ruſſians*, who live in the Towns, experience every Day, and yet cannot be without thoſe Dogs.

No Flax growing in this Country, there is but little Employment for the female Sex; however they have a way of preparing Net-

tles, and making a ſort of Linen of it, that ſerves them for Curtains about their Sleeping-places, to keep out the Gnats, with which they are extremely peſtered in Summer time in thoſe Woods. That Stuff, though it is very ſtiff, ſerves them alſo for Shirts and Head-clothes, the Ends of which they adorn with divers Colours. Their other Cloaths are made of Fiſh-skins ſowed together piece to piece till they form it into the ſhape of a Coat, Jacket, Breeches, Stockings or Socks. They alſo take the Skins of Swans, wild Geeſe, Ducks, Birds of Prey, *&c.* and patch them together into Garments. If an *Oſtiack* wants a Cap, he ſhoots a Kite or ſome other Bird of Prey, ſtrips him of his Coat, and puts it on his Head, and ſo he is provided. In Winter they commonly are wrapt up in the Skins of Rain-deer and Elks, which they wear double all of a Piece, like a Surtout, which covers the Head, the Neck, the Body and the Feet at once againſt the ſevere Cold. The Womens Dreſs is the ſame, except that they wear Pieces of Linen interwoven with divers Colours, which hang down on both ſides of the Face in order to cover it upon the ſight of a Stranger; and this is obſerved by old and young Women, who look upon it as a Mark of female Modeſty and Decency. Women of ſome Diſtinction veil themſelves with Damask or *Kitay* (Chineze Silk-ſtuffs) according to their Circumſtances.

The Indigence of thoſe People obliges them to Intercourſe and Dealings with Strangers in order to be by them relieved and ſupplied in their Neceſſities: But as they have nothing to give in Security or Mortgage, and

are

are utterly ignorant of Writing, conſequently there is no room for written Contracts and Bonds, Commerce has taught them another Method how to engage their Word. They uſe to burn divers Marks, as for Inſtance, Figures of Birds, certain Points, and the like, on their Hands, which they ſhew to their Creditors as Tokens by which they may be ſure to diſtinguiſh them from others. Likewiſe if they have any Cut, Scar, Wound, or Mole on their Bodies or in their Faces, they produce them upon entering into Contracts, and as it were mortgage them for the Performance of their Engagements. It is ſaid, they ſtand ſtrictly to their Word, and diſcharge their Debts on the Terms prefixed either by delivering Fiſhes, Furs, or even paying Money, and then they again ſhew the ſame Marks, as it were to take off the Mortgage and annul the former Engagement. The Women uſe thoſe Marks very much on their Hands, and the bluer they are the greater Pride they take in them as in a particular Beauty.

Beſides the *Woywodes* appointed by the Sovereign to be the Governors of this Nation, and to gather his Taxes, there is no great diſtinction among them as to Quality and Rank. Some indeed who pretend to be above the reſt, ſtyle themſelves *Kneeſes*, and aſſume the Dominion over certain Rivers. But the others yield them little or no Reſpect at all; They neither have Recourſe to them for Juſtice in their Differences, nor can thoſe pretended *Kneeſes* bind them by any Law or exerciſe any Juriſdiction over them; every Man being the Governor of his own Family. But,

in caſe of ſome enormous Exceſs they apply to the *Woywodes*, or refer the Diſpute to the Prieſts of their Idols, who determine the Difference by a pretended Sentence pronounced by the *Sheitan* or Idol. As to their way of ending Quarrels by Oaths, I ſhall make mention of it in the next Chapter.

Under this Anarchy thoſe People live according to their irregular Deſires, and conſequently there is nothing but Licentiouſneſs and Confuſion among them, nor is there any Hopes that they will ever be civilized, unleſs it be by embracing the Principles of Chriſtianity, and ſubmitting to thoſe Regulations which the Metropolitan is now endeavouring to introduce among them in order to bring them to a more regular way of Life than they have led hitherto. If this laudable Attempt takes Effect, there is no doubt it will at the ſame time conſiderably alleviate their extreme Poverty and Miſery, which is in great meaſure owing to their irregular Life. As they almoſt take no Care of their Body, but feed upon all ſorts of unwholeſome Diet, they are ſo much infected with ſcorbutick Diſeaſes not much unlike a Leproſy, that many may be ſaid to rot alive. The Principle of Self-preſervation which ſeems ſo much imprinted in the Minds of the reſt of Mankind, is defaced among thoſe People to ſuch a degree, that when any ſuch Diſtemper appears either upon a Foot, the Back, or any other part of the Body, even the Face, they do not apply any other Remedy, but ſuffer the Corruption to ſpread till their very Bones are rotten, and the Diſeaſe ends with their Lives. Dogs even lick their Sores, and

other

other irrational Creatures know where to find a Herb that will cure them when they are out of order, but our *Oſtiacks* plead their Ignorance and comfort themſelves with the Example of their Anceſtors who laboured under the like Diſeaſes to their dying Minute. If Love was only created by Beauty and Cleanlineſs, this Nation certainly muſt be entire Strangers to that Paſſion; but it is otherwiſe with them, and Naſtineſs is no Bar to their Inclinations. Generally ſpeaking they cannot be called deformed, as is mentioned above, and their Make is much like that of the Europeans, though few of their Women deſerve to be called handſome. But their extreme Miſery, ſorry Dreſs, and eating Ulcers render the greater part of them ſuch diſagreeable Objects, that one ſhould believe any Man or Woman under thoſe Circumſtances would never find a Partner. Yet there is Love among them alſo, even ſo far that they have a Notion a Man cannot be ſatisfied with one Woman, for which Reaſon it is uſual with them for a Man to have two Wives, one in Years to take Care of his Houſehold Affairs, and another that is young to keep him Company. Their Courtſhip is after this manner: The Suitor ſends his Friends to the Father to capitulate with him about the Price he asks for his Daughter, which ſeldom amounts to leſs than one hundred Rubels: The Lover agrees to the Bargain, and brings into account, for inſtance his Boat at the rate of thirty Rubels, his Dog at twenty and better, and ſo on till by this ſorry way of appraiſing he makes up the Sum demanded. And ſo the new Father-in-

law conſents and engages to deliver up the Bride on a certain Term. During this time of Courtſhip the Lover is not allowed to ſee his Sweetheart, but if he goes to wait on the Parents, he enters the Door backwards, nor is he allowed to look at them, but ſpeaks to them with his Eyes turned aſide, in Token of his Reſpect and Submiſſion. The Term prefixed being elapſed, the Father delivers his Daughter to the new Son-in-law, recommending to them to live in conſtant Friendſhip, and to love each other like Man and Wife. This Ceremony being over, thoſe who can afford it, preſent their Gueſts with ſome Draughts of indifferent Brandy. Their *Kneeſes*, if their Circumſtances can bear it, dreſs their Daughters on ſuch Occaſions in red Cloth like the *Tartars*; but among the vulgar Sort, Hunger regulates their Feaſts, and Neceſſity their Finery. It is not the Cuſtom with thoſe People to keep their Daughters under their Eye till they are of Years to be diſpoſed of: They part with them at the Age of ſeven or eight Years, early to be trained up in amorous Practices, and to learn in time to conform themſelves with the different Humours of Men. If a Man is tired of his Wife, he may turn her off, and take another; however it is obſerved in ſuch Caſes that natural Equity often over-ballances the Impulſe of their irregular Paſſions. They have the laudable Cuſtom, that the Women ſtay in ſeparate Huts not only during their lying in, but alſo when they have their Courſes, nor are the Husbands then allowed to converſe with them. They ſhew no great Concern upon the approach of their Time, and are delivered as it ſeems almoſt

without Pain. It often happens in Winter when they are removing from one Place to another, that the Woman falls in Labour, and no *Gurte* or Hut being near, ſhe is delivered upon the Spot, covers the Child with Snow, timely to harden and inure it to Cold, till the poor Creature begins to cry, and then the Mother takes it up, hides it in her Boſom, and ſo purſues her Journey with the reſt of the Company: Being at length arrived on the Place where they intended to ſet up their Huts, the Woman retires to a ſeparate Hut, where neither her Husband nor any Stranger is allowed to ſee her, except an old Woman that attends her. Four or five Weeks after, a long Fire is made in the midſt of the Hut, and the Woman newly delivered leaps over it. After this Ceremony of Purification ſhe returns to her Husband, who either receives her with the Child, or if he thinks fit caſts her off. Theſe People can bear the moſt intenſe Cold, and it is ſurprizing to ſee that not only in their cold Springs and Autumns, but even in Summer, which is very raw and chilly by reaſon of the frequent Northerly Winds, they can content themſelves with the poor Dreſs of Fiſh-skins. From their being thus hardened and from their Childhood inured to Toil and Fatigues, and uſed to the handling of the Bow and hunting of wild Beaſts, one may conclude, that at leaſt in former times they were not quite ignorant of the uſe of Arms and the Exerciſe of War. There are ſeveral Marks of their former Bravery ſtill extant, and the ancient Planters of *Beroſowa* were obliged to guard their Town with Paliſadoes againſt the Attacks of this Nation's

Anceſtors,

Anceſtors, who are reported to have made many a bold Puſh for recovering their former Poſſeſſions taken from them by the *Ruſſians*. The anonymous Author above quoted makes mention of ſeveral valiant Enterprizes performed by them in ancient Times in favour of Heathen Kings with whom they were then in Alliance. Their principal Men, particularly their *Kneeſes*, as they call them, have to this Day each a Coat of Mail, and a choice Bow with Arrows in their keeping, which they carry along with the reſt of their poor Houſehold-ſtuff in all their Tranſmigrations and Rambles from one Place to another. They commonly remove to the moſt frightful Deſarts, among the Dens of furious Beaſts, after whom they are continually hunting at the greateſt hazard of their Lives, which many of them loſe under the Jaws and Clutches of Bears, and by other like Fatalities. Thoſe who die a natural Death are buried by their Relations in the Ground in Summer, and in the Snow in Winter, with their Bows and Arrows, Hatchets and Knives, as alſo their Pots and Kettles, if they were ſo rich as to leave ſuch Houſehold-goods behind. This Cuſtom has been tranſmitted to them from a Nation that called themſelves *Tſchut*, inhabiting in former times this Country about *Samoroff*, *Narim*, and other Places, who received the *Oſtiacks*, when they retired out of *Permia*, allowing them to live among them. But at preſent the whole Nation is entirely extinct, that there is hardly any Footſtep of them left, except the Ruins of their ſtrong Holds near *Samoroff* and other Places where they had lived. The *Oſtiacks* inherited

rited of them their Idols, which they had from *China*. This Cuſtom of throwing into the Graves of the Deceaſed their Coats of Mail and Houſhold-Stuff, ariſes from the Notion, that when they are with the Gods in the other World, they will have Occaſion not only for their Arms, but even for thoſe Utenſils, to dreſs their own Victuals in, if they ſhould happen not to be invited to Dinner by the Gods, in which Caſe they might find none to buy, or perhaps at a very high Price. And this is all the Notion they have of the future State of Mankind, and of a Life to come; by which it appears, that from the Light of Nature they had a Glimmering of the Immortality of the Soul, though they believed that the Happineſs of a future Life only conſiſted in ſenſual Pleaſures and bodily Delights.

CHAP. III.

Of the Religion and Idolatry of the Oſtiacks.

THE Ignorance of the *Oſtiacks* has led them into the ſame idolatrous Way of Worſhip, which at all Times has prevailed with ſo many other Nations in the World, howſoever polite. The Idols which they worſhip, and make Application and Offerings to in all their Occaſions and Neceſſities, are of two Sorts, ſome are Braſs Figures, caſt skillfully enough, in the Shape of

Women with open Arms, Geeſe, Snakes, and the like, which they inherited of the *Tſchut*, the Nation abovementioned, who, as it is believed, had them from the ingenious *Chineze*. The other Sort are of their own aukward Making, cut out of a Piece of Wood, with a a Knot at the Top, ſhaped in the Figure of a Man's Head, on which they form a Prominence denoting the Noſe, and cut a Notch athwart under it, inſtead of a Mouth. Every one carves himſelf ſuch an Idol, which he ſets up, and caſts off again, as he pleaſes, and even ſometimes cuts it to pieces, and throws it into the Fire. Others are but a Log of no Shape at all, except that it is long and thick, which lies on the Ground wrapt up in all ſorts of Rags, with a Piece of Looking-Glaſs upon it, which reflects the Rays of the Sun when ſhined upon. Thoſe their Gods they place upon high Hills, as pleaſant as the Situation of the Place will allow, or in the midſt of the Foreſt in a little wooden Houſe, with another ſmall Hut next to it, where they lay up the Bones of the Beaſts that were offered.

Their Worſhip is not regulated by certain Hours or Days, but they apply to their Gods according as their Neceſſities happen, or as they wiſh for Succeſs in their Undertakings. However, their Prieſts, who pretend to immediate Communication and Inſpiration from the Mouths of their Gods, do not fail to exhort them in a ſevere Manner to religious Duties, to reprimand them for the Neglect of Worſhip, and to direct them to appeaſe the provoked Deities with Pieces of Linen, Damask, and other Stuffs, to cloath them, and with Sacrifices of Beaſts. They have indeed

no

no particular Sett of Men for that Function: Every Maſter or Head of a Family, who, in his advancing Age, finds himſelf animated by Covetouſneſs, or warmed by a religious Zeal, commonly ſucceeding the Follies of his younger Years, cuts out a Log for an Idol, and takes upon himſelf to perform the Worſhip. But in caſe any of them ſhould think themſelves unfit for that Function, they eaſily find others, who, out of Love to an eaſy Life, will offer their Service in a Station to which they commonly have made themſelves fit by previous Practice. All their Hability conſiſts in crying out with a loud Voice to the Idols, what is the Requeſt of thoſe who make Offerings to them, to endure the Torture of their Sooth-ſaying, and afterwards to palm upon the ſilly Populace all ſorts of Stories and Tricks for an Anſwer from the Oracle. This Sooth-ſaying, according to common Report, is performed after this manner: The Prieſt being tied, throws himſelf on the Ground, and expects, with abundance of Grimaces, the Time of his being inſpired with an Anſwer to the Points deſired, which relate, for Inſtance, to the foretelling of future Things, the pointing out a Place where to find good Game, or to decide Matters of Diſpute. Thoſe who are conſulting the Oracle, ſtand by in the mean time, continually whining and making a Noiſe with Baſons or other Veſſels that give a Sound, till they obſerve a Vapour of a blue Colour, being, as they ſay, the Spirit of Prophecy, which diſperſes the Standers-by, ſeizes on the Sooth-ſayer, and throws him into Convulſions, which work him for an Hour and better, till by Degrees he recovers his Senſes,

and then he tells his Votaries some Tale or other in Answer to their Questions. But to judge of the Ground of this sort of Divination, and how far it is to be relied on, I shall relate one Instance. The Sooth-sayers in the Neighbourhood of *Samaroff* and *Berosowa*, had persuaded the poor Inhabitants who consulted them, that their Gods approved of no other Sacrifice but Horses, which accordingly they furnished for some time with great Trouble and Expence, till at last they run in Debt to that degree, that many could not keep their old Rags to cover their Nakedness, and too late became sensible of the Deceit that was at the Bottom of those Sacrifices. If the Oracle points out to them a Place where they may find Plenty of Fish and Game, they commonly are deceived in their Hopes when they come to the Place. Those Disappointments spur them on to Revenge on their Idols, which upon their Return they whip and beat, till they think they have sufficiently resented the Deceit. That Passion being over, they reconcile themselves again with their Deities, by giving them Clothes of Rags, of which they are sure to strip them again next Time, if their Predictions do not prove true. This is to be understood of their private Idols of their own making, for which they shew not much Respect; but they have, generally speaking, far greater Veneration for their publick Idols, which they do not cast off like the others, but keep them, as being of an old Standing, and of an approved Authority, in which they place a great deal of Confidence, particularly if they are of Brass, which, in their Opinion, have a sort of Immortality

mortality in them, becauſe they have withſtood Corruption time out of Mind, and acquired great Wiſdom and Experience during ſo many Years. And this ſort of publick Idols are moſt recommended and praiſed by Parents to their Children; this ſavage Nation having no other Idea of their Creator, and the Duties they owe to him.

Their Sacrifices they perform with the following Ceremonies: They preſent their Idol either with live Fiſh, which they lay down before him for ſome Time, and afterwards dreſs and eat among themſelves, greaſing only the Idol's Mouth with the Fat of them, or giving him Clothes, as aboveſaid, which they hang over him. Others bring Rain-deer or Elks for a Sacrifice, and thoſe who border upon the *Tartars* give Horſes, for which theſe poor People are obliged to pay very dear. The Beaſt is firſt carried alive before the Idol, next they tie its Legs together, and the Prieſt begins with a wild Noiſe to explain the Deſire of thoſe who make the Offering, during which a Man ſtands with a Bow and Arrow aiming at the Beaſt, till the Prieſt has done bawling, and knocks it on the Head, when he lets fly his Arrow, another runs a Spit into its Belly, and ſo kill it, after which they take it by the Tail, and draggle it thrice round the Idol. The Blood they draw out of the Breaſt into a conſecrated Veſſel, ſprinkle their Houſes with it, drink of it, and with the reſt dawb the Idol's Mouth; the Skin of the Beaſt with the Head, Feet, and Tail, they hang upon a Tree as an Ornament. The Fleſh they dreſs and eat with great Rejoycings, ſinging in the mean while all ſorts of looſe

Songs,

Songs, and then greaze the Idol's Mouth again with the Fat of it. What they cannot eat up, they carry home with them to make Preſents of it to their Neighbours, and treat their Wives, who did not aſſiſt at the Sacrifice. Sometimes their own Houſe-Idol gets his Share, and has alſo his Mouth greaſed of it. The Feaſt being over, they bawl again very loud, and beat the Air with Sticks, which is intended as an Honour for the Idol's Ghoſt, returning back into the Air from their Entertainment, and to thank him as it were for having accepted of their Invitation.

If a Woman's Husband dies, ſhe expreſſes her Concern for the Loſs of her Partner, by making an Idol, and dreſſing it in the Deceaſed's Clothes, which ſhe takes to bed with her to lie in her Arms, and in the Day-time places it before her Eyes, bewailing her dead Husband under the Shape of the Idol. This ſhe continues for a whole Year together, after which ſhe ſtrips the Idol, and throws it by till another Occaſion. If a Woman ſhould neglect this Ceremony, it would be a Blemiſh on her Reputation, and ſhe would lie under the Reproach of not having loved her Huſband, and having broke the matrimonial Faith.

If they kill a Bear they flea him, and hang his Skin on a high Tree next to the Idol, paying great Honours to it, and, with abundance of bawling and counterfeited Lamentations, make their Excuſes to the Bear, ſaying, they were not the Occaſion of his Death, but the Iron which they did not make, or the Arrow for which ſtrange Birds had lent their Feathers to make it go ſwift, and that they did

did nothing but let it fly, for which they begged his Pardon. This Folly proceeds from a Notion which they entertain, as if the Beaſt's Soul wandering in the Woods might do them Harm, unleſs they appeaſe it in time, for having thus turned it out of its Place of Abode.

When their Woywodes adminiſter to them the Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign, they are brought into Court, where a Hatchet and a Bear-skin is laid before them, and a Piece of Bread preſented to them ſtuck on a Knife, and then they take the following Oath: *In caſe I am not faithful to my ſupreme Lord and Sovereign till the End of my Life, but do knowingly and willingly depart from, or neglect to perform the Duties incumbent on me, or in any manner whatſoever offend againſt my Sovereign; may this Bear tear me to pieces in the Woods, this Piece of Bread which I am going to eat, choak me, this Knife ſtab me, this Hatchet cut my Head off.* To determine their Differences, both Parties chuſe Referees, before whom they lay the Affair in Diſpute, and if ſome doubtful Circumſtances make it difficult to decide, the Referees put either of the Parties to their Oath, which they take in the following manner. He that is to ſwear, is carried before the Idol, and firſt ſeriouſly exhorted to beware of Perjury, by alledging ſeveral Inſtances how it was puniſhed; then they give give him a Knife with which he chaps the Idol's Noſe off, and a Hatchet with which he cuts the Idol, on which Occaſion they uſe the following Expreſſions: *If in this Difference I ſwear falſe, or ſay any thing but mere Truth, I will loſe my Noſe, or be mangled with this Hat-*

chet in the ſame manner; may the Bear in the Woods tear me to pieces, and Misfortunes attend me every where. The ſame Ceremony is obſerved in putting the Witneſſes to their Oath. Though there have been ſome found among them who forſwore themſelves, yet theſe People are perſuaded, that God's Juſtice never ſuffered them long to go unpuniſhed. A very remarkable Inſtance happened but lately: There was a Fellow among them, who often had been guilty of forſwearing himſelf, as appeared in Proceſs of Time, yet never ſhewed the leaſt Apprehenſion of thoſe Curſes he had drawn upon himſelf by his Perjury, which indeed did not light upon him in his Life-time. But dying in the Year 1713, and his Corpſe being buried by his Relations deep in the Sand next to a River, a Bear appeared about that Place ſoon after, who ſeemed to deſign no Harm to any body, nor could any Number of Dogs make him quit the Place, till in July of the preſent Year 1718, he found the Spot where the Corpſe was buried, which he ſcratched out of the Ground, and only eat his Face with which he had looked at the Idol when he forſwore himſelf, and his Hands with which he had hewed at it. The People that live in the neighbouring *Gurtes* or Huts, related thoſe Circumſtances to the Metropolitan in my Preſence, and appeared much amazed at the ſtrange Accident, the like of which, they ſaid, never happened in their Life-times, before they were baptized, which was done in the Year 1713.

Their Idols they call *Sheitan*, the Number of which was not to be determined before they were brought to embrace Chriſtianity.

Every Man had one of his own in a Hut, and even the Women had theirs in their ſeparate Huts abovementioned. However, there are but three in all which they look upon to be of the greateſt Repute. Two of them ſtand near each other in the *Gurtes* of *Bilhorſky*, one of which that has no Name, is the principal of them, they pay the greateſt Honours to him, and apply to him on all their Occaſions. I cannot exactly deſcribe the Figure of this Idol, having had no Opportunity of ſeeing it, for thoſe blind People hearing, that the Metropolitan was coming among them, to baptize them by his Czariſh Majeſty's Orders, took it out of the Way and concealed it, for fear it might be burnt. According to their own Deſcription, it was a rough Piece of Wood without a Body, only the Top being cut out into the Figure of a Man's Head: The Log it ſelf they had covered with a Piece of red Cloth, with other Pieces and Rags ſtitched to it, which they had conſecrated to the *Sheitan*; but the Head of it was covered with a Cap turned up with coſtly Furs of black Foxes.

The ſecond *Sheitan* that ſtood next to the other, was a Braſs Figure of a Gooſe with its Wings ſpread. This Idol, though of Braſs, was not near ſo much valued as the firſt, for notwithſtanding that was only of Wood, yet it was older, and conſequently had much more Experience, beſides, that this Gooſe only preſided over their Geeſe, Ducks, and other Wild-fowl, an Employment much inferior to the Dignity of the other, who had the Command over the Gooſe, and when he had a Mind to travel, would get upon her

Wings, and order her to carry him whither he pleaſed. The *Oſtiacks* therefore made Offerings to the Gooſe, when they deſigned to go ſporting with wild Fowl, as likewiſe hunting the meaner ſort of Sables.

The third *Sheitan* was called *Starik Obsky*, the Ancient of the *Oby*. He lately ſtood over-againſt the Town of *Samaroff*, which was one of the Places of his Reſidence, the other being at the Place where the two Rivers *Irtis* and *Oby* join. His Votaries uſed to change his Reſidence every third Year, and carried him on the *Oby*, in a Boat purpoſely made for him, with great Solemnity according to their own Way, from one Place to the other. This was their God preſiding over Fiſh, which, in their Opinion, he could make come from the Sea into the *Oby* to be caught by them. He was of Wood, and had a long Snout like that of a Hog, tipt with Iron, which was to ſignify, that he could draw the Fiſh with it out of the Sea into the *Oby*. He had two ſmall Horns on his Head, and Glaſs-Eyes, the Meaning of which they cannot explain themſelves. They laid their Coats of Mail by him, to repreſent the Victory and Superiority he had obtained over all the other Sea-Gods. Every Year when the Ice began to break, and the Rivers to overflow, they came in great Numbers to this *Sheitan*, to obtain of him good Luck in fiſhing; which Sollicitations were ſometimes humble, ſometimes abuſive and huffing. If they were lucky in their Capture, the *Starik Obsky* ſhared the Hanſel of their Fiſhing, particularly if they took of that ſort which they call *Nelm*, and is much like Salmon; they indeed eat the Fiſh among themſelves,

ſelves, yet the Idol had his Mouth greaſed, and when the Entertainment was over, they conveyed his Ghoſt back into the Air with their Canes, in the manner abovementioned. But if they were unſucceſsful in their Fiſhery, the Idol ſmarted for it; they took his Clothes from him, tied a Rope about his Neck, whipped him, and threw him into a filthy Hole, loading him all the while with Reproaches and Invectives; telling him, he had been a-ſleep when they implored his Help, that it ſeemed his Forces began to decay, and that he was no longer able to do the like Service to them as he had done to their Anceſtors; that therefore, if his advanced Age had made him lazy and decrepit, it was Time for them to diſcard him, and look out for another God. And ſo he continued Priſoner in that Hole till perhaps the Seaſon proved more favourable for their Capture, then they forgot all former Diſcontents, took him up again, cleanſed and adorned him with his former Clothes, and reſtored him to his Seat, and, the better to appeaſe him, greaſed his Mouth.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Beginning of their Converſion to the Chriſtian Religion, as profeſſed by the Grecian *Church.*

SUCH has been the pitiful State of this Nation till of late, nor was there any great Appearance of their ever being brought

to the Knowledge of the true God. The Riches of the *East-Indies* and *China* were a great Encouragement for *Francis Xaverius*, and other Missionaries who succeeded him, to go and preach Christianity to polite and sensible Nations, and the Danger and Pains attending such an Undertaking, were balanced by the Hopes they had of establishing Monasteries and Palaces for themselves and Fraternity, in Countries abounding with all that can make Life easy and pleasant. The horrid Country of a poor and savage Nation, like that of the *Ostiacks*, had none of those Intiements: However it pleased God Almighty at last to raise an Instrument of making his Glory known in this Corner of the World also.

Father *Philotheus*, being made Metropolitan or Archbishop of *Tobolsky*, the Metropolis of *Siberia*, found himself actuated by a Zeal of converting the neighbouring Nations to the Christian Faith. Accordingly he sent Missionaries among the *Mungalians*, and to their High-Priest *Kutuchta*, with two of his own Servants, who were to study the Language and Letters of that Nation. This *Kutuchta* is in high Veneration among the Nations of *Mungalia*, *Contasch*, *Ajuka*, and *Bucharia*. He is their Pope or High-Priest, always attended by a Number of armed Men, and has under him all other *Lamas* or Priests. Those Nations observe the same idolatrous Worship with the greater Part of the Chineze and Indians, who for a certain Time had but one common Head or High-Priest of their Church, called the *Dalai-Lama*, who kept his Residence beyond the Lake *Baikal*, or *Baikal-More*, and even *Selinga*, the last Town

of

of the Ruſſian Empire on this Side of the Wall of *China*. Some time ago he conſtituted *Kutuchta* his Vice-Gerent or Biſhop over the foreſaid Nations, the Extent of his ſpiritual Juriſdiction being too great for him to manage it alone. But *Kutuchta* has ſince ſhaken off this Dependency, and ſet himſelf up ſupreme Head in ſpiritual Affairs of the Nations abovementioned. The *Mungalians* never ſtay long in any Place, nor ſettle any where, but rove about the Country; in Winter they live in Tents made of Felt, which they call *Woylocks*, in Summer they change them for others made of Silk and Velvet; for this Reaſon *Kutuchta* has no fixed Place of Reſidence, but with his fine Tents, and a conſiderable Guard of Soldiers, removes where he likes beſt. He carries his Idols, particularly thoſe that are in the greateſt Repute with the People, along with him, and places them in ſeparate Tents. The Populace have a Notion of him, that he grows young with the new Moon, and changes with the Wane of it. But the Metropolitan's Miſſionaries relate, that having been kindly uſed by *Kutuchta*, and admitted to his Audience whenever they deſired, they had an Opportunity of obſerving from whence this Notion ſprung, which was, that he let his Beard grow when the Moon was on the Decreaſe; but when it waxed, he not only ſhaved, but even painted red and white like the Women in *Ruſſia*. They maintain the *Metempſychoſis Pythagorica*, or Tranſmigration of Souls after Death out of one Body into another, either of Men or Beaſt: For this Reaſon they take care not to kill any live Creature, for fear of diſlodging

perhaps the Souls of their Anceſtors, unleſs it be with the Deſign of advancing them; for they are of Opinion, that the Soul of a Perſon who lived a filthy Life tranſmigrates into the Body of a Swine, and ſo on till by repeated Changes it is cleanſed and made fit for entering again into that of a Man. Others who pretend to profounder Speculation, maintain, that it is not the Soul, but the Faculties and Operations of it, that go out of one Body into another. This Doctrine they alſo apply to their *Kutuchta*, and give out that his Soul is tranſplanted into his Succeſſor, who is choſen in his Life-time, and is always about his Perſon, in order that his young Soul, by the daily Converſation with the old one, may in his Life-time be prepared and fitted up for receiving the ſound Senſe, and other Qualifications, that, after his Predeceſſor's Death, are to be tranfuſed into him. *Kutuchta*, when he ſhews himſelf to the People, it is with great Pomp, and he walks in Proceſſion with the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums, to a magnificent Tent of Velvet, where a Cuſhion is laid for him on an elevated Place, with many others that lie lower round about for his *Lamas* or Prieſts. The preſent *Kutuchta*'s own Siſter uſes to ſit at his Right on thoſe Occaſions, ſhe being likewiſe a *Lama*, and having her Head ſhaved all over like the reſt. The other *Lamas* throw a certain Herb on their Cenſers, with which they perfume firſt the Idol, then the *Kutuchta*, and afterwards the People. After this the chief of their Order place ſeven Bowls of the fineſt Porcelane before the Idol, and as many before the *Kutuchta*, filled with Honey, Sugar, Meath, Brandy,

Brandy, Tea, Milk or Wine, and ſometimes alſo with Sweet-meats. During which the People call out: *Ge gen Kutuchta*; that is to ſay, *Kutuchta* is a bright Paradiſe. Among other Queſtions which he propoſed to the Miſſionaries, he asked this ſilly one: How great the Number of the Dead was? They asked him again, Whether he could tell how many thoſe were that were alive. *Kutuchta* anſwering he could not know it, becauſe that very Minute he was going to determine their Number, others might be born; the Miſſionaries replied, It was the ſame Caſe with relation to the Dead, and ſo he appeared ſatisfied.

But to return to the laudable Deſign of the Metropolitan, the ſame had not all the intended Succeſs; for his advanced Age made him reſolve to reſign his Archbiſhoprick, and retire into the Monaſtery of *Kioff*, where he had ſpent his younger Years: But the Governor of *Siberia*, *Matfei Petrowitz Gagarin*, ſo far prevailed with him, that he promiſed to continue for ſome Time longer in his Employment, on Condition that he might have Leave to convert the *Oſtiack* Nation to the Chriſtian Religion, purſuant to the Intentions his Czariſh Majeſty had expreſſed long before. Accordingly he went, attended by ſeveral Clergymen, to the Places where their chief Idols ſtood, and which were moſt frequented by the People. He repreſented to them the Vanity of the idolatrous Worſhip of wooden Images, and directed them how to adore the true living God. But thoſe People, prepoſſeſſed with the Antiquity of that Service, oppoſed all the Metropolitan's Endeavours, alledging,

ledging, that their Anceſtors had, Time out of Mind, maintained the Worſhip of their *Sheitans*, and fared well by it; that as for themſelves, they were from their Childhood brought up to it, and were unwilling to change it for another, which would make them believe the Souls of their Anceſtors to be in a State of Damnation, or at beſt in a very dubious Condition: So that at firſt they ſeemed reſolved rather to venture upon the laſt Extremities, than to renounce the Religion and Cuſtoms of their Fore-fathers. The Beginning of this Reformation was made in the Year 1712 about *Samaroff*, where they had the *Staryk Obsky*, or their Fiſh-Idol. The People at firſt were very unwilling to part with their reputed Deity, who had ſupplied them and their Forefathers with Fiſhes in abundance, and whom, in their Opinion, they could, by ill Uſage and Reproaches, hector into a Compliance with their Demands. However, by degrees they gave Ear to the old Metropolitan's Reaſonings, and the Idol was burnt. This was no ſooner done, but they ſhewed a Repentance for what they had done, and a Deſire of returning to their ancient Worſhip again. This was augmented by a deceitful Report ſpread by ſome, who pretended they had ſeen the Ghoſt of the Idol in the Shape of a white Swan, riſing into the Air out of the Flames. But as the Metropolitan and others contradicted that Fiction, and that thoſe who had forged it, durſt not appear to ſupport it, the poor miſ-led People began to give Way for their better Inſtruction. Thoſe who lived in more remote Parts, ſhewed ſtill greater Obſtinacy in forſaking

their

their Idolatry. Some Prieſts of their *Sheitons* were very active in countenancing the Sticklers for the ancient Worſhip, by making them believe, that the Idol had foretold what would happen, eight Days before the Metropolitan's Arrival, and warned them to withſtand the Attempts of the Chriſtians, which he would certainly baffle and diſappoint by his powerful Protection. When the Metropolitan arrived among the *Gurtes* of *Shorhaw*, where they had another ſuch Idol; he found the People diſpoſed to ſtand all Extremities in maintaining their Religion. However, the pious Zeal and convincing Arguments of that Man were of ſuch Weight with thoſe People, that they alſo conſented to the burning of their Idol. There was one thing that very much contributed to the Converſion of thoſe Heathens who live about the Monaſtery *Kotskoy*, (where there alſo live a few Ruſſians); *viz.* the Example of one of their *Kneeſes*, *Alatſcho* by Name, who derived his Deſcent from the Family of the ancient Governors of this Nation. The Metropolitan repreſented to him the Example of the *Ruſſian* Nation, who had likewiſe but lately been Idolaters, but were converted to Chriſtianity, and brought to deſtroy their Idols, in the Time of *Vladimir* who reſided at *Kiow*. This Inſtance made ſuch an Impreſſion on *Alatſcho*, that he not only received Baptiſm, but alſo reſolved to take a Journey to *Kioff*, to view the Bodies of the Saints that are repoſited there free from Corruption, in order to be informed of the Truth of the thing; and accordingly immediately after he was baptized he ſet out for that City.

The

The Seaſon being ſpent during thoſe Tranſactions, the Rigour of the Winter obliged the Archbiſhop to return, having had no further Succeſs in his Deſign than that he burnt many Idols, and initiated about ten or eleven Souls to Chriſtianity by Baptiſm. I muſt defer till another Opportunity to inform the Reader, how in the Years 1713 and 1714, above five thouſand *Oſtiacks* were baptized, it happening by a particular Providence, that the greater Part of that Nation were then aſſembled, the gathering of whom out of the Foreſts and Deſarts would otherwiſe have been a Work of ten Years at leaſt.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

CRIMINAL PROCESS

OF THE

CZAREWITZ

Alexei Petrowitz,

Judged and publiſhed at St. PETERSBOURG the 25th Day of *June* 1718, O. S.

Tranſlated from the Ruſſian Original, and printed by Order of His CZARISH MAJESTY, at the *Hague*, by *John van Duren*, Bookſeller, MDCCXVIII.

Now done into Engliſh from the above French Tranſlation.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

CRIMINAL PROCESS

OF THE

CZAR NICHOLAS

Issued and published at St. Petersburg
this 25th Day of June 1848 O.S.

Translated from the Russian Original, and printed
by Order of His CZARISH MAJESTY, at
the Press, by John and Henry Booklett,
Printers.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

CRIMINAL PROCESS

OF THE

CZAREWITZ

Alexei Petrowitz,

Judged at St. PETERSBOURG by Order of His CZARISH MAJESTY, the 25th Day of *June*, 1718.

BE it known unto all, that in the preſent Year 1718, the 14th of the Month of *June*, the Moſt-High Lord, CZAR, and Great Prince *PETER ALEXEIWITZ*, *Autocrator* of all the *Greater*, *Leſſer and White-Ruſſia*, did purſuant to an Ordinance convene in the Hall of the Regency of the Senate eſtabliſhed for the Affairs of the

the Ruſſian Empire, the Archbiſhops and Archimandrites, all the Miniſters of State, the Senate, the States Military and Civil, and the principal Nobility now preſent at St. *Petersbourg*, and did order them to wait there the arrival of his Majeſty.

His Czariſh Majeſty having in his own High Perſon repaired to the Palace, commanded that the Czarewitz *Alexei Petrowitz* be brought to his Imperial Preſence and before the Aſſembly, and he having made Appearance, *His Czariſh Majeſty* by Word of Mouth made a ſhort and conciſe Expoſition of the Occaſion of their Meeting, and he ordered the following Papers publickly to be read:

THOUGH the Czarewitz *Alexei*'s Evaſion, and part of his Tranſgreſſions are already known to all by the Manifeſto which was publiſhed at *Moskow* the 3d Day of *February* of the preſent Year 1718; yet there appear ſtill at preſent contrary to all Expectation ſuch Things as by far ſurpaſs all that has preceded, and one may ſee with what Wickedneſs and Treachery that Prince has impoſed on his *Sovereign* and *Father*, as alſo what Perjuries he has committed againſt God, and how he feigned an ill State of Health to prevent People's taking notice of his ill Practices, and diſcovering his pernicious Intrigues. All which is going to be laid open here clearly and with order by tracing out the Matter from its firſt beginning.

As ſoon as the Czarewitz *Alexei* had attained his Years of Diſcretion and during all the following Time, *His Czariſh Majeſty* his Father employed all ſorts of Means to train him

him up to the Affairs of the Government, and to give him an Inſight into the Art of War, as is related in the Manifeſto of *Moskow*, all which was without any Succeſs: *His Czariſh Majeſty* expected from Day to Day he would mend and change his Conduct and Manners; but ſeeing that the ſaid Prince oppoſed all his good Deſigns, his Majeſty declared his Intentions to him in Writing, and demanded of him his laſt Reſolution: For in the Year 1715, the 11th Day of *October*, *His Czariſh Majeſty*, being returned from the Funeral of the late Crown-Princeſs the *Czarewitz*'s Conſort, went to the ſaid Prince and gave him the following Paper:

DECLARATION TO MY SON,

" YOU cannot be ignorant of what is " known to all the World, to what " Degree our People groaned under the Op- " preſſion of the *Swedes* before the beginning " of the preſent War.

" By the Uſurpation of ſo many maritime " Places ſo neceſſary to our State, they had " cut us off from all Commerce with the " reſt of the World, and we ſaw with Re- " gret that beſides they had caſt a thick " Veil before the Eyes of the clear-ſighted. " You know what it has coſt Us in the be- " ginning of this War (in which God alone " has led us, as it were, by the Hand, and " ſtill guides us) to make ourſelves experien- " ced in the Art of War, and to put a ſtop " to thoſe Advantages which our implaca- " ble Enemies obtained over us.

" We ſubmitted to this with a Reſigna- " tion to the Will of God, making no doubt

" but it was he who put us to that Trial, till " he might lead us into the right Way, and " we might render our ſelves worthy to ex- " perience, that the ſame Enemy who at " firſt made others tremble, now in his turn " trembles before us, perhaps in a much greater " degree. Theſe are the Fruits which, next to " the Aſſiſtance of God, we owe to our own " Toil and to the Labour of our faithful and " affectionate Children, our Ruſſian Subjects.

" But at the time that I am viewing the " Proſperity which God has heaped on our " native Country, if I caſt an Eye upon the " Poſterity that is to ſucceed me, my Heart " is much more penetrated with Grief on ac- " count of what is to happen, than I rejoice " at thoſe Bleſſings that are paſt, ſeeing that " you, my Son, reject all Means of making " your ſelf capable of well-governing after " me. I ſay your Incapacity is voluntary, be- " cauſe you cannot excuſe your ſelf with " Want of natural Parts and Strength of " Body, as if God had not given you a ſuf- " ficient Share of either; and though your " Conſtitution is none of the ſtrongeſt, yet it " cannot be ſaid that it is altogether weak.

" But you even will not ſo much as hear " warlike Exerciſes mentioned; though it is " by them that we broke through that Ob- " ſcurity in which we were involved, and " that we made our ſelves known to Nations, " whoſe Eſteem we ſhare at preſent.

" I do not exhort you to make War with- " out lawful Reaſons; I only deſire you to " apply your ſelf to learn the Art of it; for it " is impoſſible well to govern without know- " ing the Rules and Diſcipline of it, was it

" for

" for no other End than for the Defence of
" the Country.

" I could place before your Eyes many
" Inſtances of what I am propoſing to you.
" I will only mention to you the *Greeks*,
" with whom we are united by the ſame Pro-
" feſſion of Faith. What occaſioned their
" Decay but that they neglected Arms? Idle-
" neſs and Repoſe weakened them, made
" them ſubmit to Tyrants, and brought them
" to that Slavery to which they are now ſo
" long ſince reduced. You miſtake, if you
" think it is enough for a Prince to have
" good Generals to act under his Orders. E-
" very one looks upon the Head; they ſtudy
" his Inclinations and conform themſelves to
" them: All the World owns this. My
" Brother during his Reign loved Magnifi-
" cence in Dreſs, and great Equipages of
" Horſes. The Nation were not much in-
" clined that way, but the Prince's Delight
" ſoon became that of his Subjects, for they
" are inclined to imitate him in liking a thing
" as well as diſliking it.

" If the People ſo eaſily break themſelves
" of things which only regard Pleaſure, will
" they not forget in time, or will they not
" more eaſily give over the Practice of Arms,
" the Exerciſe of which is the more painful
" to them, the leſs they are kept to it?

" You have no Inclination to learn the
" War, you do not apply your ſelf to it,
" and conſequently you will never learn it:
" And how then can you command others,
" and judge of the Reward which thoſe de-
" ſerve who do their Duty, or puniſh others
" who fail of it? You will do nothing, nor

" judge of any thing but by the Eyes and " Help of others, like a young Bird that " holds up his Bill to be fed.

" You ſay that the weak State of your " Health will not permit you to undergo the " Fatigues of War: This is an Excuſe which " is no better than the reſt. I deſire no Fa- " tigues, but only Inclination, which even " Sickneſs it ſelf cannot hinder. Ask thoſe " who remember the Time of my Brother. " He was of a Conſtitution weaker by far " than yours. He was not able to manage a " Horſe of the leaſt Mettle, nor could he " hardly mount it: Yet he loved Horſes, " hence it came, that there never was, nor " perhaps is there actually now in the Na- " tion a finer Stable than his was.

" By this you ſee that good Succeſs does " not always depend on Pains, but on the " Will.

" If you think there are ſome, whoſe Af- " fairs do not fail of Succeſs, though they do " not go to War themſelves; it is true: But " if they do not go themſelves, yet they have " an Inclination for it, and underſtand it.

" For Inſtance, the late King of *France* " did not always take the Field in Perſon; " but it is known to what degree he loved " War, and what glorious Exploits he per- " formed in it, which made his Campaigns " to be called the Theatre and School of the " World. His Inclinations were not confi- " ned ſolely to military Affairs, he alſo loved " Mechanicks, Manufactures and other E- " ſtabliſhments, which rendered his Kingdom " more flouriſhing than any other whatſo- " ever.

" After having made to you all thoſe Re-
" monſtrances, I return to my former Sub-
" ject which regards you.

" I am a Man and conſequently I muſt die.
" To whom ſhall I leave after me to finiſh
" what by the Grace of God I have begun,
" and to preſerve what I have partly reco-
" vered? To a Man, who like the ſlothful
" Servant hides his Talent in the Earth, that
" is to ſay, who neglects making the beſt of
" what God has intruſted to him?

" Remember your Obſtinacy and Ill-na-
" ture, how often I reproached you with it,
" and even chaſtiſed you for it, and for how
" many Years I almoſt have not ſpoke to
" you; but all this has availed nothing, has
" effected nothing. It was but loſing my
" Time; it was ſtriking the Air. You do
" not make the leaſt Endeavours, and all your
" Pleaſure ſeems to conſiſt in ſtaying idle and
" lazy at home: Things of which you ought
" to be aſhamed (foraſmuch as they make
" you miſerable) ſeem to make up your dear-
" eſt Delight, nor do you foreſee the dange-
" rous Conſequences of it for your ſelf and
" for the whole State. St. *Paul* has left us
" a great Truth when he wrote: *If a Man*
" *know not how to rule his own Houſe, how*
" *ſhall he take Care of the Church of God?*

" After having conſidered all thoſe great
" Inconveniencies and reflected upon them,
" and ſeeing I cannot bring you to good by
" any Inducement, I have thought fit to
" give you in writing this Act of my laſt
" Will, with this Reſolution however to
" wait ſtill a little longer before I put it in
" Execution, to ſee if you will mend. If

" not, I will have you to know that I will " deprive you of the Succeſſion, as one may " cut off a uſeleſs Member.

" Do not fanſy, that, becauſe I have no " other * Child but you, I only write this " to terrify you. I will certainly put it in " Execution, if it pleaſe God; for whereas " I do not ſpare my own Life for my Coun- " try and the Welfare of my People, why " ſhould I ſpare you who do not render your " ſelf worthy of either? I would rather chuſe " to tranſmit them to a worthy Stranger, than " to my own unworthy Son.

The Original is ſigned with His Majeſty's own Hand,

PETER.

The Czarewitz's Anſwer to His Czarish Majesty, *written three Days after the Birth of the Lord Czarewitz* Peter Petrowitz.

Most Clement Lord and Father,

" I Have read the Paper *your Majeſty* gave " me on the 27th of October, 1715. " after the Funeral of my late Conſort.

" I have nothing to reply to it, but, that " if *your Majeſty* will deprive me of the Suc- " ceſſion to the Crown of *Ruſſia* by reaſon " of my Incapacity, your Will be done; I

* *This Expreſſion is here made uſe of, becauſe this Letter was written eighteen Days before the Czarewitz* Peter Petrowitz *was born; conſequently the Czarewitz* Alexei *was then the only Son.*

" even

" even moſt inſtantly beg it of you, becauſe " I do not think my ſelf fit for the Go- " vernment. My Memory is very much " weakened, and yet it is neceſſary in Affairs. " The Strength of my Mind and of my Body " is much decayed by the Sickneſſes which " I have undergone, and which have rendered " me incapable of governing ſo many Na- " tions; this requires a more vigorous Man " than I am.

" Therefore I do not aſpire after you " (whom God preſerve many Years) to the " Succeſſion of the *Ruſſian* Crown, even if " I had no Brother as I have one at preſent, " whom I pray God preſerve. Neither will " I pretend for the future to that Succeſſion, " of which I take God to witneſs, and ſwear " it upon my Soul, in Teſtimony whereof I " write and ſign this preſent with my own " Hand.

" I put my Children into your Hands, and " as for my ſelf, I deſire nothing of you but " a bare Maintenance during my Life, " leaving the whole to your Conſideration " and to your Will.

Your moſt humble Servant and Son,

(Is ſigned) ALEXEI.

HIS CZARISH MAJESTY's *ſecond Paper to the Czarewitz of the* 19th *of January*, 1716.

Laſt Admonition.

" MY laſt Sickneſs having hindered me " till now from explaining my ſelf to " you about the Reſolution I have taken upon

" your Letter which you wrote to me in an-
" ſwer to my firſt; at preſent I anſwer, that I
" obſerve you talk of nothing in it but of the
" Succeſſion, juſt as if I needed your Con-
" ſent to do in that Affair what otherwiſe
" depends on my Will. But whence comes
" it that in your Letter you ſay nothing of
" that Incapacity wherein you voluntarily
" put your ſelf, and of that Averſion you have
" for Affairs, which I touched in mine
" more particularly than the ill State of your
" Health, which you barely mention. I al-
" ſo remonſtrated to you the Diſſatisfaction
" your Conduct has given me for ſo many
" Years, and you paſs all that over in ſilence,
" though I ſtrongly inſiſted upon it. Thence
" I judge that thoſe paternal Exhortations
" have no Weight with you. I have there-
" fore taken a Reſolution, to write to you
" once more by this preſent which ſhall be
" the laſt. If you ſlight the Advices I give
" you in my Life-time, how will you value
" them after my Death?

" Can one rely on your Oaths, when
" one ſees you have a hardened Heart? *Da-*
" *vid* ſaid: *All Men are Liars.* But ſuppo-
" ſing you have at preſent the Will of being
" true to your Promiſes, thoſe great Beards
" † may turn you as they pleaſe, and make
" you break them.

" In ſtead that at preſent their Debauches
" and Sloth keep them out of Poſts of Ho-
" nour, they are in Hopes that one Day or
" other their Condition will mend by you

† *This is underſtood of thoſe People who are of corrupted Morals.* Quorum Deus venter eſt,

" who

" who already ſhew much Inclination for " them.

" I do not ſee that you are ſenſible of the " Obligations you have to your Father, to " whom you owe your very Being. Do you " aſſiſt him in his Cares and Pains, ſince you " have attained the Years of Maturity? Cer- " tainly in nothing; all the World knows " it: Quite contrary you blame and abhor " all the Good I do, at the Hazard and Ex- " pence of my own Health for the ſake of " my People and for their Welfare, and I " have all the Reaſons in the World to be- " lieve you will be the Deſtroyer of it, if " you out-live me. And ſo I cannot reſolve " to let you live on according to your own " Will, like an amphibious Creature, nei- " ther Fiſh nor Fleſh. Change therefore " your Conduct, and either ſtrive to render " your ſelf worthy of the Succeſſion, or turn " Monk. I cannot be eaſy on your account, " eſpecially now that my Health begins to " decay. On ſight therefore of this Letter, " anſwer me upon it either in Writing, or " by Word of Mouth. If you fail todo it, " I will uſe you as a Malefactor.

In the Original was ſigned,

PETER.

The Czarewitz's Anſwer written on the 20th *of January*, 1716.

MOST CLEMENT LORD AND FATHER,

" I Received this Morning your Letter of " the 19th Inſtant. My Indiſpoſition " hinders me from writing to you more at " large.

" large. I will embrace the Monaſtical " State, and deſire your gracious Conſent " for it.

Your Servant and unworthy Son,

ALEXEI.

His Czariſh Majeſty afterwards, before his Departure for foreign Countries, went to the *Czarewitz* to bid him Farewell. He found him in Bed, as if he had been ſick, yet ſcarcely was he ſet out, but the *Czarewitz* went to a Feaſt at the Houſe of the *Diack* (Secretary) *Michael Voinow.*

His Majeſty asked him at that time, what Reſolution he had taken, and the *Czarewitz* again confirmed to him by great Oaths and calling God to Witneſs, that he was willing " to retire into a Convent, and that he wiſhed " nothing more paſſionately than to embrace " the Monſtical State." *His Czariſh Majeſty* repreſented to him the Difficulties which a young Man ought to foreſee in ſuch an Engagement; that he ought well to conſider of it and to do nothing raſhly, and afterwards to write to him what he had determined; but that he would do better to take the way which *his Majeſty* had pointed out to him, than to turn Monk, and that to this End he gave him ſtill ſix Months time; and ſo he bid him farewell.

The ſix Months paſſed, nor did *his Majeſty* receive any News from the *Czarewitz* on that Head, which obliged him to ſend to him from *Copenhagen* by the Courier *Sophonor* a Letter of his own Hand-writing dated the 26th of Auguſt, 1716. in theſe Terms:

My

My Son,

" I Have received your Letter of the 29th " of June, and the other of the 30th of " July. Seeing you talk of nothing in it but " only of the State of your Health, I write " to you this preſent, to tell you, that I de- " manded your Reſolution concerning the " Succeſſion, when I bid you farewell. You " anſwered me then as uſually, that you did " not judge your ſelf capable of it by reaſon " of your Infirmity, and that you had rather " retire into a Convent. I tell you to think " once more ſeriouſly upon it, and after- " wards to write to me what Reſolution you " have taken. I have expected it this ſeven " Months paſt, and you ſend me no Word " at all about it to this very Inſtant. You " have time enough to think upon it; there- " fore upon the Receipt of my Letter chuſe " one or the other. In caſe you determine " for the firſt, which is, to apply your ſelf " in order to be capable of the Succeſſion, " do not delay above a Week to repair hi- " ther, where you may arrive time enough " to be preſent at the Operations of the Cam- " paign. But if you reſolve on the other " ſide, let me know, where, what time and " even what Day you will execute your Re- " ſolution, that my Mind may be at reſt, and " that I may know what I am to expect " from you. Send your final Anſwer back " to me by the ſame Courier, who is to de- " liver to you my Letter.

" In the firſt Caſe, mark to me the Day " when you intend to ſet out from *Peterſ-* " *bourg*; and in the ſecond, when you will

" put it in Execution. I repeat it to you, " that I abſolutely will have you reſolve on " ſomething, for otherwiſe I muſt judge, that " you only ſeek to gain Time to paſs it in " your uſual Idleneſs.

In the Original was ſigned

PETER.

The *Czarewitz* at his Departure from *Petersbourg*, feigned to go to *His Czariſh Majeſty*; but, in Contempt of the aboveſaid Orders, made his Eſcape on the Road, where he wrote a fraudulent Letter to him, which he falſely dated from *Koningsberg*, inſtead of *Libau*, to prevent his Father's ſending ſome body or other to meet him, as he has expreſly owned in the Paper of his Confeſſions.

His Majeſty receiving Advice at *Amſterdam* of his Evaſion, ſent in Queſt of him, firſt the Reſident *Weſelowski*, and afterwards the Captain of the Guards *Rumanzoff*, and laſt of all from *Spaa*, the Privy-Counſellor and Captain of the Guards M. *Tolſtoy*, with the ſaid Captain *Rumanzoff*, and ſent by them the following Letter under his own Hand of the 10th of July 1717.

MY SON,

" YOUR Diſobedience, and the Contempt " you have ſhewn for my Orders, are " known to all the World. Neither my " Words nor my Corrections have been able " to bring you to follow my Inſtructions, and " laſt of all, after having deceived me when " I bid you Farewell, and, in Defiance of the " Oaths you made, you have carried your " Diſobe-

" Diſobedience to the higheſt Pitch by your " Flight, and by putting your ſelf, like a " Traitor, under a foreign Protection: A " Thing unheard-of hitherto, not only in our " Family, but alſo among our Subjects of a- " ny Conſideration! What Wrong, and what " Grief have you thereby occaſioned to your " Father, and what Shame have you drawn " upon your own Country?

" I write to you for the laſt Time, to tell " you, that you are to do what Meſſieurs " *Tolſtoy* and *Rumanzow* will tell you, and " propoſe to be my Will.

" If you fear me, I aſſure you by this Pre- " ſent, and I promiſe to God and his Judge- " ment, that I will not puniſh you, and if you " ſubmit to my Will, by obeying me, and if " you return, I will love you better than ever. " But if you do not do it, I as a Father, by " Virtue of the Power I have received from " God, give you my everlaſting Malediction, " for the Contempt and Offences committed " againſt your Father; and as your Sovereign, " I declare you Traitor, and I aſſure you I " will find Means to uſe you as ſuch, in " which I hope God will aſſiſt me, and take " my juſt Cauſe into his Hands.

" As for what remains, remember I con- " ſtrained you in nothing. What need had " I to give you a free Choice what Side to " take? If I was willing to force you, was " it not in my Power to do it? I had but to " command, and I had been obeyed.

In the Original was ſigned

PETER.

The Czarewitz *wrote from* Naples *the following Anſwer to* His Czarish Majesty, *the* 4th *of October* 1717.

Most Clement Lord and Father,

"I Received your Majeſty's moſt gracious "Letter by the Sieurs *Tolſtoy* and *Rumanzoff*, by which, as alſo by them by Word "of Mouth, you moſt graciouſly aſſure me "of a Pardon for my going away without "Leave, in caſe I do return. I give you "Thanks for it with Tears in my Eyes, I "own my ſelf unworthy of all Mercy, throwing my ſelf at your Feet. I implore your "Clemency to forgive me my Crimes, though "I have deſerved all ſorts of Puniſhment. "But I rely on your gracious Aſſurances, and "giving my ſelf up to your Will, I am ſetting out without Delay from *Naples*, to repair to your Majeſty to St. *Petersbourg*, "with thoſe whom your Majeſty has ſent.

Naples, *Oct.* 4. 1717. *Moſt humble unworthy Servant, undeſerving to call himſelf Son,*

ALEXEI.

On the 3d Day of February of the preſent Year 1718. the *Czarewitz* was conducted to *Moſcow* by the Privy-Counſellor the Sieur *Tolſtoy* and Captain *Rumanzoff*, and brought before *His Czariſh Majeſty* in the great Hall of the Caſtle, where he made by Word of Mouth, in the Preſence of all the People, the Confeſſion of his voluntary Flight, preſenting at the ſame Time a Paper under his Hand in the following Terms:

Most

MOST CLEMENT LORD AND FATHER,

" AFTER having confeſſed my Tranſ-
" greſſion before you, my Father and
" my Lord, I bring here the *Paper of Confeſ-*
" *ſion* of my Crimes, which I ſent you from
" *Naples*. I confeſs once more at preſent,
" that I have ſwerved from the Duties of a
" Child, and of a Subject, in evading and
" putting my ſelf under the Emperor's Pro-
" tection, and by applying to him for Sup-
" port. I implore your gracious Pardon and
" your Clemency.

The moſt humble and incapable Servant,
unworthy to call himſelf Son,
ALEXEI.

His Majeſty after this declared to him by Word of Mouth, that it was his Will he ſhould diſcover the Truth of all the Particulars, and the Circumſtances of his Evaſion, who adviſed him to it, and all that related to it: That if he told the Truth without any Diſguiſe, without Reſerve, and without Reſtrictions, he would give him his Pardon; but if he did not diſcover all, and even the Perſons who were his Accomplices, and if he concealed any thing of what had any relation to it, the Pardon ſhould be void and of no Effect.

Upon which the *Czarewitz* promiſed, and obliged himſelf to *His Czariſh Majeſty*, to declare the mere Truth, as before God, without any Diſguiſe, and he kiſſed the *Holy Goſpels*, and the *Holy Croſs*, before the Altar in the Cathedral Church, in Teſtimony of the Promiſe he did make to diſcover all.

He

He gave *His Czariſh Majeſty* to underſtand in the ſaid Cathedral, that he had been forced by the *Imperial Court* to write three Letters relating to his going out of the Country, *viz.* two to the Archbiſhops, and one to the Senate, about the Contents of which he would explain himſelf afterwards.

On the fourth Day of February was written upon the Articles given to the Czarewitz by His Czariſh Majeſty, what follows.

AS you received Yeſterday your Pardon, on Condition of diſcovering all the Circumſtances of your Evaſion, and all that has any relation to it, and to ſuffer Death if you concealed or diſguiſed any thing; you have explained your ſelf by Word of Mouth on ſome Points; but to do it better, and for your own Diſcharge, do it in Writing according to the Order of the following Points.

I.

Has there been any premeditated Deſign in the Anſwers made to the Letter which you received from me after the Funeral of your Conſort, and to the other Letters which I wrote to you ſince on the ſame Subject? And whereas you have always deſired to go into a Convent, as well in all your Letters, as in your Diſcourſes when I bid you Farewell before my Departure from Petersbourg, *ſeeing it appears at preſent that all was nothing but Diſſimulation on your Side; tell, with whom you concerted it, and who are thoſe that knew you acted only with a View of deceiving me?*

The

The *Czarewitz* has declared in writing to *His Czariſh Majeſty* upon theſe Articles, as follows, and has ſigned it with his own Hand.

Anſwer to the firſt Point.

TO MY MOST CLEMENT LORD AND FATHER,

I Communicated and read the Letters which I received from *Your Majeſty* after the Funeral of my Conſort, and thoſe that followed, to *Alexander Kikin*, and to *Nikifore Baſemsky*, and I conſulted them every one in particular. Perhaps the one made Confidence of it to the other; however, they were ſeparately conſulted.

They adviſed me to renounce the Succeſſion, and even to deſire to be diſcharged of it, by reaſon of the weak State of my Health. I wiſhed it alſo my ſelf, and it was fairly without Cunning and without Malice, that I wrote ſo; for why ſhould one charge one's ſelf with what one is not able to bear? *

The ſame two Perſons alſo adviſed me, to deſire that I might retire into a Convent; and to ſay, that I was willing by that Means to diſcharge my ſelf of the Burthen of the Succeſſion.

They talked to me thus: *If there is no other Reſource, the ſureſt Way is to go into a Convent, for that will not exclude you from the Succeſſion.*

---

* *All this he wrote fraudulently, as is avetred by what follows.*

They talked to me in the like manner on the Occaſion of your bidding me Farewell; and they told me, that, in order to conform with what had been concerted, I ſhould tell you the ſame thing I had written, even though I had no Deſign of putting it in Execution, as I have already declared by Word of Mouth. And as you, my Lord, told me at that time, that I ought to conſider without Raſhneſs of the Reſolution which I ſaid I was willing to take, of retiring into a Convent, I was of Opinion I might ſpin out that Buſineſs.

Alexander Kikin made a Journey to *Carlſbad* ſoon after your Departure from St. *Petersbourg:* About two Weeks before, more or leſs, (for I was on my Eſtate in the Country when he actually ſet out) he ſaid to me: *I am going to look out for a Place for you, where-ever it be.* And I expected to hear from him with the Deſign of making my Eſcape.

As to my Evaſion it ſelf, I have clearly explained my ſelf in the third Article of my Interrogatories.

I am now returning to the Time of my firſt Anſwer to your Letters.

I went to Prince *Baſili Wolodimerowitz Dolgoruki*, and to Count *Frederick Matveyewitz Apraxin*, before I ſent my Anſwer to *Your Majeſty*. I deſired them, that when *Your Majeſty* ſhould ſpeak to them concerning me, they would perſuade you to deprive me of the Succeſſion, and to let me live in a Country Houſe to paſs the Remainder of my Days. *Frederick Matveyewitz* anſwered me, "*If your* "*Father ſpeaks to me about it, I am ready to* "*give him that Advice.*" The Prince *Baſili* told

told me the ſame thing, adding: "*Give him* "*thouſand Papers, who knows what may hap-* "*pen when the Caſe in Queſtion comes to fall* "*out! The old Saying is,* Ulita Yedett, Kolita "Boudett: *That may happen, but God knows* "*when. It is none of thoſe Contracts of our* "*good People of old, which if one did not per-* "*form, one paid a Fine for it.*

When I had given the Letter in Queſtion, the Prince *Baſili* came to me, to tell me on your Part, to ſhew to him the Letter which *Your Majeſty* had written to me. I read it to him, and he ſaid to me: "*I have ſpoke to your* "*Father concerning you. I believe he will de-* "*prive you of the Succeſſion, and he ſeems ſa-* "*tisfied with your Letter.*

He asked me for the rough Draught of it, I read it to him, becauſe he had adviſed me to make mention in it of my Brother in the Terms I did. When I read the ſaid Draught to him, he ſaid to me it was well, and he repeated the aboveſaid Words to me, adding: *I have ſaved you from the Block by ſpeaking to your Father.*

I anſwered him, that I had drawn the ſaid Letter ſincerely, without the leaſt Cunning, being unwilling to charge my ſelf with what I was unable to bear. He replied to me: *Rejoice at preſent. You have nothing more to do.*

As to *Frederick Matveyewitz*, I do not remember whether I ſhewed him the Letter or no; but I wrote it in concert with *Kikin* and *Nikiforo*, each apart, having taken Copies of it, which I ſent to them by *Baſili Barikof* ſealed up, becauſe *Kikin* living far off from my Houſe, I could not always have an Enterview with him; beſides, that he had given me no-

tice there were Overlookers of your Court to obſerve who came to me. Upon my asking him, Whence he knew that? He anſwered me, that ſome of your own Court had told him, but he did not name them.

As to *Barikof*, I cannot tell whether he knew what Letters he carried from me to *Kikin*, at leaſt I did not truſt him with the Secret; I only ordered him to carry them privately to *Kikin*, who always ſent them back to me ſealed up, after having corrected them.

The ſaid *Kikin* adviſed me to renounce the Succeſſion, ſaying: *You will be at Reſt when you have given all over. This is better. I know the Weakneſs of your Conſtitution will not allow you to bear ſo heavy a Burthen as the Succeſſion. It was ill done of you that you did not go away; but the thing is done now, it is too late to redreſs it.*

Nikifore ſpoke to me in theſe Terms: *What ſignifies the Crown, provided you are at Reſt.* I remember nothing elſe of their Diſcourſes.

I alſo conſulted the ſaid *Kikin* and *Nikifore* on my ſecond Letter to *Your Majeſty*; but either I did not ſend it to them, or they did not ſend it back to me, as far as I remember, becauſe the Time was ſhort: All that I recollect is, that *Kikin* came to me only once, as I believe, and told me before the Letter was yet written, I ſhould retire into a Convent: *For*, ſaid he, *they do not nail the Cowl to one's Head, one may always ſlip it off again, and throw it by.* He added to this Advice: *So far all is well. For the future, who knows what may ſtill happen.*

The Converſation I had then with *Nikifore*, does not occur at preſent to my Memory. I only

only remember that he ſaid to me: *If there is no other Expedient, you muſt go into the Convent; ſend for your Confeſſor, and tell him they force you to retire into the Convent, he may tell it to the Archbiſhop of* Reſan, *that they may not think you were ſhaved for ſome Crime.* I followed this Advice of *Nikifore*, and having told it to my Confeſſor *George*, Arch-Prieſt of the Cathedral of St. *Petersbourg*, he anſwered me: *I will tell it when it ſhall be Time.* I afterwards asked him, Whether he had told it, and he anſwered, No; whereupon I told him, not to ſpeak of it neither for the future. I do not know with what View *Nikifore* adviſed me ſo to do: But the Confeſſor knew nothing of the Conferences I had with *Kikin*, and I conſulted him in nothing.

After having given my ſecond Letter to *Your Majeſty*, I wrote two others to my Confeſſor *James* and to *Ivan Kikin*, to whom I ſent Word, that I went into the Convent by Force, and that they ſhould give to the Perſon who carried my Letter, ſome Money of that which they had then in their Hands belonging to me. I do not remember the Sum any more. I told to the Woman, who was the Perſon to whom I gave thoſe two Letters ſealed up, without informing her of the Contents: *If I happen to die*, for I was ſick then, *deliver thoſe two Letters to their Directions, and they will give you Money.* This is the Woman who lived with me.

She kept thoſe Letters in a Box, but as to thoſe which I received from *Your Majeſty*, and my Anſwers, ſhe had not the leaſt Knowledge of them. I carried her along with me by a Stratagem when I had taken the Reſo-

lution to fly. I told her, that I only would take her as far as *Riga*, and from thence I carried her further, making her, as well as those of my Retinue, believe, that I had Orders to go to *Vienna*, to make an Alliance against the *Ottoman Porte*, and that I was obliged to travel in private, that the Turks might not get notice of it. This is all that my Servants knew of it.

Lastly, those other Persons that also had Knowledge of my abovesaid Letter to *Your Majesty*, are the Prince *Yuriya Yuriewitz Trubezkoi* and the *Czarewitz of Siberia*, but they have not seen the Letter it self. The Prince *Trubezkoi*, about three Weeks after, asked for that Letter: *What Letter did your Father give to you in my Presence? The Contents of it were they good or bad?* I told him the Subject of it, and of my Answer. He replied to me: *You do well not to pretend to the Succession. Remember that one finds Occasions of Affliction even in the midst of Grandeur and Wealth. You are not proper for it.* I told him that he was very much in the Right. The *Siberian* told me: *What Letters has* Makarof *brought to you? We all know the Contents of it:* He communicated it the same Day to the Prince *James Dolgoruki*. I owned it to him, and I gave him a Sum of Ducats to pay them to my Mistress for her Subsistence, upon my retiring into the Convent. I took that Money back some Days after. Those who knew of it, were *Nikifore Basemsky*, *Ivan Affonassief*, and the Confessor *George*. But as to the Letters, I do not remember any more, whether I told the Confessor of them or no. At least he knew nothing of my Escape.

INTER-

INTERROGATORY II.

Was there not ſome Talk during my great Illneſs at St. Petersbourg, *by which there appeared ſome Eagerneſs of joining with you, in caſe I ſhould die?*

Ad Secundum.

I heard no body ſay any thing upon that Subject at the Time of your great Illneſs, in caſe you ſhould die.

INTERROGATORY III.

Is it long ſince you began to frame the Deſign of your Eſcape; and with whom did you concert it? For as you took your Reſolution ſo ſuddenly, one may believe it was premeditated long before.

Declare openly the whole of the Matter, with whom, in what Place; whether by Word of Mouth, or by Correſpondence of Letters, and by what Conveyance?

Moreover, by whoſe Advice did you write on the Road the aboveſaid fraudulent Letter? Who helped you in it? And for what Reaſon did you write it? And did you not write to ſome other Perſon during your Journey?

Ad Tertium.

I did often, and at different Times, diſcourſe with the ſame *Kikin*, and even before I received your Letters, or that I anſwered them. Our Talk amounted to what follows:

That if I ſhould happen to be in foreign Countries, I ſhould ſtay there, in whatever Place it might be, only to live there in Quietneſs, and not to intermeddle with any thing.

However, I made no great Haſte to execute it: But when I ſet out for *Carlsbad*, *Kikin* told me:

After your Recovery write to your Father, that you will be again obliged to take Medicines in the Spring, and in the mean time you may go to Holland, *and afterwards to* Italy, *after the Cure in the Spring; and at this rate you may make your Abſence laſt two or three Years.*

I wrote to him from *Carlsbad*, to know whether or no I was to do what had been concerted with him: He made this Anſwer to me: *How can you do that without your Father's Leave? It is to be apprehended he might be angry: Write to him, and ask his Leave. But do not forget your own Affairs.*

I could not underſtand what he meant by theſe laſt Words. And when I had altered my Reſolution of going to *Holland*, and that I was returned to St. *Petersbourg*, I found *Kikin* there, who had been ſentenced to be baniſhed, by the Proceedings that had then been made. But as he was no longer under Confinement, I had an Opportunity of having an Enterview with him.

He asked me: *Has there any body of the Court of* France *been at your Houſe?* I told him, *I had ſeen no body.*

He replied to me: *You did wrong in not having had an Enterview with ſome body of the Court of* France, *and that you did not retire thither. The King is a Man of a great Soul: He gives his Protection even to Kings. It would have been an eaſy Matter for him to give it to you alſo.*

I asked him what he had meant in his Letter, by thoſe words, that *I ſhould not forget my own Affairs*; and what that ſignified. He anſwered me: *I intended to tell you by it, that you ought to retire to* France: *For I durſt*

not

not venture to write plain to you, you ought to have guessed it your self.

As to my last Escape which I actually put in Execution, I never deliberated upon it beforehand with any body: But having received your Letter from *Copenhagen*, and seeing I was at Liberty to go out of *Russia*, I took the Resolution pursuant to *Kikin*'s former Discourses, to withdraw somewhere or other, either to the *Emperor*, or to some Republick, to *Venice*, or to *Switzerland*. I did not speak to any body about it. I only gave to understand to *Ivan Affonassief* the Elder, that I was resolved to fly to any of the abovesaid Places whichsoever, without precisely explaining whither; for I was not yet fully determined.

I also told him, that I had formerly spoken upon that Subject with *Kikin*, who perhaps would have found a Place for me, seeing he was then in those Parts; and if I should meet him, he would advise me where to go: That in case I did not find him, I would go to one or the other of those Places.

Before that time I never had any Conversation upon that Subject with the said *Ivan Affonassief*, nor with any body but *Kikin*, either by word of Mouth or in writing, or in what manner soever, and there was no Consultation under what Pretext soever. None of my Servants, nor any Stranger knew of the Design of my Escape, except those abovementioned. And *Ivan Affonassief* told me upon my going away: *I am resolved to keep your Secret, but woe to us if you fly; consider what you are doing.*

When

When I met *Kikin* at *Libau*, where I asked him whether he had found out a Place for me, he told me: *I have found out one: Go to* Vienna *to the Emperor, they will not deliver you up there.* He afterwards told me how he had lived at *Vienna.*

I asked him what Buſineſs had engaged him to go to *Vienna*, whether it was for mine, or for that of others; For, ſaid I, though you ſaid before my Departure that you would look out for a Place for me, yet you wrote nothing to me. He anſwered me: *I had no other Buſineſs there but for you. I deſired Leave of the Princeſs Czarewna* Mary Alexeiewna *to go to* Vienna *for my private Affairs, and ſhe had charged me to perſuade* Broſorofski *to return.*

I afterwards asked him what I ought to do, in caſe ſome body ſhould be ſent to meet me at *Dantzick* or *Konigsberg.* He told me: *Make your Eſcape in the Night-time alone, or take but one Servant with you, nor mind what becomes of the Baggage or the other Servants; if they ſend two Perſons for you, feign your ſelf ſick, and ſend one on the Road before-hand, mean while you give the Slip to the other.*

As to the fraudulent Letter. The ſame was written at *Libau*, by the Advice of the ſaid *Kikin*, and dated from *Konigsberg*, that it might not be obſerved he had a Hand in it: For I converſed there with him openly.

The Letter was given to the Prince *Shakofski*, Captain of the Regiment of *Semenow*, with Charge to ſend it by the Poſt. But the ſaid Captain knew nothing of our Affairs, and the Deſign in writing that Letter, was,

to

to prevent that no body might be ſent to meet me.

The ſame *Kikin* alſo made me write a Letter to *Ivan Affoneſſief* the Elder, who, I had told him, was acquainted with what we had concerted, and of my Eſcape, to let him know that he was to follow me, and that I left for him at *Dantzick* with the Poſt-maſter, the Directions, where he was to go. *Kikin* reaſoned thus: *If* Affonaſſief *is no longer at* Petersbourg, *this Affair cannot take vent; for beſides us two and him, no body knows of it. As for me, I was not at* Petersbourg, *when you ſet out, conſequently the Suſpicion cannot fall upon me: But if* Affonaſſief *ſtays there, it is to be apprehended he may drop ſomething to ſome Perſon or other.*

I told him I did not believe *Affonaſſief* had a mind to go: Whereupon *Kikin* went on: *In this Caſe, write him a ſecond Letter, by which no body may underſtand that you ever had any Diſcourſe with him on this Affair, and as if you had only on the Road taken the Reſolution of going away; and ſend him Word to take your Jewels along with him and to follow you.*

I do not remember the Name of the Town, where he told me I ſhould write to *Affonaſſief* to meet me: *And as for me, ſaid he, I will tell him to ſhew the Letter you are to write to him, to the Prince* Menchikof, *as if he diſcovered your Secret to him, and ſo they will not make any Enquiry againſt him.*

He further told me, to write to the Prince *Baſili* a Letter of Thanks for his Kindneſſes, which I would endeavour to acknowledge in proper Time: *For*, ſaid *Kikin*, *if any Suſpicion ſhould fall upon me concerning your Eſcape, I will*

I will forthwith declare the Letter you wrote to the Prince Basili, *and say: It appears he had concerted it with him, seeing he gives him Thanks. I intercepted that Letter.*

Kikin took that Letter with him. I do not know whether he delivered it. But besides the other Letters for *Affonassief*, he told me, to write to the Prince *Menchikof*, that he should give to *Affonassief* an Order for the Posts, and dispatch him: That I also should thank him for having advised me to take my Mistress along with me. *Perhaps*, said *Kikin*, *he will shew that Letter to your Father, who from thence also may conceive some Suspicion against him.*

Concerning the Prince *Menchikof*, things passed in this manner.

When I was at his House before my Departure, he asked me, where I would leave my Mistress. I answered him: That I took her with me as far as *Riga*, and that I would send her back hither. He told me: You will do better to take her along with you; but it was already my Design to carry her along with me, though I said I would not take her further than *Riga* only, to the End they might not perceive the Design I had to fly.

For this Reason I did not tell the Truth, not even to her, for fear she might let fall something of it: And when I told all this to *Kikin*, it was thereupon he told me to write, as I declared above, to the Prince *Menchikof*; but the said Prince knew nothing of the Design of my Escape, nor has there been any thing communicated on that Subject to Prince *Basili*.

I parted after this with *Kikin*, who desired me

me to let him know, as well as *Affonaſſief*, where I ſhould be on the Road, and he alſo told me, that I ſhould write to them in theſe Terms, that *I had paſſed ſafely by* Dantzick *and without Danger from the Confederates, and that I was on the Road. Do not write any more*, ſaid he to me, *we ſhall underſtand this well enough.*

Accordingly I did. I wrote to them from *Stargard*; but to leave no room for Suſpicion againſt them, I alſo writ to others who knew nothing of my Deſigns concerted with *Kikin*, nor of my Eſcape, namely to *Nikifore Baſemsky*, to *Fedor Dubroſski*, to the *Siberian Czarewitz*, to *Ivan Nariſhkin*, and to all in the ſame Terms as I had written to *Ivan*, with this view that my Letters, if they ſhould happen to be intercepted, might give no Suſpicion, they being all alike and containing the ſame thing.

All the abovementioned Perſons knew nothing of my Flight, except *Kikin* and *Ivan*.

Thoſe Letters were ſent to *Riga* to the Prince *Peter Galliczin*, to be by him forwarded to St. *Peterſbourg*: And after this, I have writ-ten no more Letters to *Ruſſia*; though I wrote from *Courland* and from *Livonia* to my own Houſe, concerning my domeſtick Affairs, and I have alſo written to *Dubroſski*, about certain Books belonging to me, which he had in his Hands long before, as alſo about other Moveables which he had in his keeping.

In this manner all paſſed at that time.

The Prince *Peter Galliczin* knew nothing of my Eſcape.

As for what remains, I do not know, whether the Letters in queſtion came to Hand

or no, because no body wrote to me from *Russia*.

There is something more *Kikin* told me: *If your Father sends some body to persuade you to return, do it not: He will have you publickly beheaded.* And then I told him: *It is well you looked out for a Place for me; but had not my Father written to me to come to him, how could I have contrived it to fly!* He answered me: *In that case I would have contrived it so, that you had said you would go of your own Motion to meet your Father, and in this manner you might have made your Escape.*

Interrogatory IV.

Did you receive any Letters during your Flight, or had you any Intercourse with some body or other from Russia, *directly or indirectly, or by any other ways? What are they? As also, did you hear any thing either from* Russia *or else of the Affairs of this Country, that did regard us, you and me?*

Ad Quartum.

I had not the least News, when I was on my Journey during my Flight, neither from *Russia* nor from any where else, neither in writing nor by word of Mouth, neither directly nor indirectly, nor by any other ways, neither of the Affairs here, nor of other things, except that I received Advice from Count *Schönborn* at *Ehrenberg*.

First: *That there was Advice relating to me, that I was with them, and that I should live and keep my self concealed.*

The second time, when *Weselowski* spoke of me at *Vienaa*.

I do

I do not remember any more, to which of thoſe two Letters was joyned a Copy of one of *Pleyer*, to this Effect, that *after my Departure ſome Enquiry had been made among my Servants, and that there was Mutiny in the Army that was then in* Mecklenbourg, *and eſpecially in the Regiments of Guards, which for the greater part are compoſed of the Nobility: That the* Czar's *Life was aimed at, and that they talked of ſending the* Czariſſe, *with her Son, to the Place where the late* Czariſſe *was, to carry the latter to* Moſcou, *and when they had found out her Son, who was miſſing, without their knowing what was become of him, to place him on the Throne*, &c.

This Letter was left behind with my other Papers.

I had another Letter ſtill of Count *Schönborn*, concerning my Journey to *Naples*, but I received none at *Naples*.

I never wrote to any body in Cyphers during my Flight. And as to News, I had no other but what I mentioned juſt now, and from the printed Gazettes.

INTERROGATORY V.

When, or why was the Grecian Prieſt at your Houſe?

Ad Quintum.

There was no Grecian Prieſt with me, either at my Houſe, or any where elſe, ſince I left St. *Petersbourg*, till the arrival of Meſſieurs *Tolſtoy* and *Rumanzoff* at *Naples*.

INERROGATORY VI.

Tell, at leaſt, the Subſtance of the Letter, which you ſaid the Imperialiſts forced you to

write on this Affair, though you may not remember it just word for word; and who of the Imperialists forced you to write it? When and where? Who of your Servants had knowledge of it? To whom did you deliver it? Have you no Draught of it by you? And is it true, that the Imperialists forced you to it?

Ad Sextum.

Count *Schönborn*'s Secretary, whose Name is *Keil*, forced me to write Letters to the Senate and to the Archbishops, when he went with me at *Naples* to the Lodgings of the Vice-Roy's Secretary *Wingarten*, saying, that I ought to write to *Russia* to the foresaid Persons, because they have Advice there, said he, that *I was dead*, and that other Advices told them, that *I was taken and carried into* Siberia. *Therefore write*, said he, *and if you do not write, we will not keep you.*

In effect, he did not stir out of the Room before I had written: And upon this Constraint of the Secretary, I wrote to the Senate, and to two Archbishops, *viz.* to that of *Rostow* and to that of *Kruditz*, to the Effect as follows; for I had but little Acquaintance with them.

" I Believe that you, like all the rest, were
" much surprized at my Departure un-
" known to all the World. The ill Usage
" I met with, even so far as to design to shut
" me up in a Convent, obliged me to it:
" But God furnished me with an Opportu-
" nity of getting out of the way. I find my
" self under the Protection of a high Person
" *(I was not allowed to name him)* till proper
" time

" time when God ſhall recall me to return. " In the mean while I deſire you not to for- " get me, and if one or other of thoſe Per- " ſons who wiſh to blot me out of the Me- " mory of Mankind, ſhall ſpread a Rumour " that I am dead, or of ſome other ill thing, " do not give Credit to it, and keep others in " Heart: For I am alive and in good Health, " Thanks to God and my Benefactors, who " keep me in their Guard, and have promi- " ſed me not to forſake me and to aſſiſt me " in all my Occaſions. I am, to the Grave, " full of good Wiſhes towards you and to my " Country.

This is the Subſtance of the Paper, but I do not remember it word for word: They would not ſuffer me to make a Draught of it. I have only the Letter ſo as I began to write it, but it is not finiſhed in that Paper, becauſe I had written wrong: This Paper was preſerved inſtead of the foul Draught. It is not in the ſame Terms; however it is on ſame Subject. It is ſtill behind with my other Papers.

When I had written the Letter in queſtion, I gave it to the Secretary whom I mentioned, who ſet out with it I do not know whither. But he told me he went to *Vienna*; and I was put into the Caſtle of St. *Elmo*.

None of my Servants knew any thing of thoſe Letters. I even had then not one with me, who could read or write. It was I and the Secretary who made the Letter, being locked up by our ſelves. This happened on the 8th of May, 1717.

Upon my arrival at *Vienna* I applied to Count *Schönborn*, to desire Protection. He said: *I am going to the Emperor to hear what he says; take care, that* Weselofski *do not see you.*

Being come back from the Emperor, he said: That he had given no Resolution; but that he had ordered him to confer about it with Prince *Eugene* and Count *Staremberg*.

After this Conference, it was resolved to take me into Protection, and to send me to some Fortress, the Count telling me: *What will you do at* Vienna? *You will be known there, particularly by* Weselofski. *The Emperor will not forsake you, and when it is time, after your Father's Death, he will assist you to ascend the Throne, even with armed Force.* I told him, * *I do not demand that; but only to be kept under Protection. I do not desire more.*

Interrogatory VII.

Declare and discover all that may have any relation to this Affair, though not expressed here; and clear your self as if you were at the Holy Confession.

But if you conceal any thing of what may be otherwise discovered, do not charge me with the Consequences: For I declared to you Yesterday, that in case you concealed any thing, the Pardon that was granted to you should be void and remain revoked.

Ad Septimum.

I will tell all that relates to this Affair.

The Prince *Menchikof* paid me one thousand Ducats on my Departure from St. *Petersbourg*:

* *He declares the thing quite otherwise hereafter.*

tersbourg. And when I took Leave of the Senators, they alſo gave me one thouſand Ducats, and as they could then find no Ducats, they cauſed that Sum to be paid to me in two thouſand Rubels.

Beſides this, I borrowed at *Riga* of *Ilia Iſaief* five thouſand Ducats in Specie, and two thouſand in current Money, which an Officer of the Garriſon changed me into Ducats.

Neither the Prince *Menchikof*, nor the Senators, nor alſo *Ilia Iſaiew* knew any thing of the Deſign of my Eſcape. I told them, that I was ſetting out to meet you at *Copenhagen*, and they gave me Money with this Intent.

It was *Affonaſſief* who adviſed me to borrow of *Ilia Iſaief*.

What I have heard beſides at different times and from different Perſons, that may be worth declaring, is as follows:

I heard the *Czarewitz of Siberia* ſay thoſe Words: † Michel Samarin *has told me, that within a ſhort time there will be a Change among us. Will you do me good, when you are well? For all that* Samarin *ſays, falls out accordingly.*

He did not explain what ſort of Change that would be. The ſame Perſon told me in the Month of March, 1716. that there would be a Change on the 1ſt of *April*; and upon my asking him, what Change that would be? He told me: *Either the Czar will die, or Re-*

† *The Siberian Czarewitz afterwards cleared the ſaid* Samarin, *ſaying in his Interrogatories, that he did not hear him hold that Diſcourſe.*

tersbourg *will be deſtroyed. I ſaw that in a Dream.*

When that Day was paſſed, I asked him, why nothing had happened? And he ſaid: *This may happen in other Years on that Day, I did not ſay, it would be this Year; only mind the firſt of April, but as to the Year, I do not know it.*

Nikifore Waſemskoi being come from *Moſkow* to *Thoren*, ſaid to me: *I heard of* Alexander Sergeiof, *that the* Czar *will not live above five Years more, but I do not know whence he has it.*

When I was in the Neighbourhood of *Stetin*, the Prince *Baſili Dolgoruki*, being on Horſeback, ſpoke to me and ſaid: *If we had not the* Czariſſe *about the* Czar, *we could not live with him by reaſon of his ſevere Temper, I ſhould be the firſt at* Stetin *to betray him.*

In the Original was ſigned,

In the Caſtle of Preobraſhenſki, *Feb.* 8th, 1718.

All this did declare your moſt ſubmiſſive Servant and Son,

ALEXEI.

As for what remains, the Paper of the Czarewitz's Confeſſion, declares as follows:

IN Supplement of the above Interrogatory Articles, I alſo declare for my own Diſcharge, what I had forgotten.

Being diſcourſing with *Frederick Dubroſki* on my Departure, I do not remember what

Day

Day it was, he asked me, * *Do you go to meet your Father? Go for God's ſake!* I told him: *I am going: God knows whether it is to him, or ſomewhere elſe.* He ſaid: *Many others who were of your Rank, found their Safety in flying. I believe your Relations will not forſake you.*

Moreover, *Semon Nariſhkin* meeting me between *Memel* and *Konigsberg*, ſaid to me: *You do wrong that you come. You might have remained where you were. We who are faithful to you, have conſidered of it, and* Kikin *wrote it to you.*

I told him that I could not gueſs at the Meaning of what he had written to me. He ſaid: *Things muſt go on ſo at preſent.*

Ivan Affonaſſief before my Departure, and when I imparted to him my Deſign to fly, brought to me Orders concerning my domeſtick Affairs, for regulating what was to be done during my Abſence, to be ſigned by me, as I always uſed to do when I went on ſome Journey. I told him: *What ſignifies ſigning all this, when I am flying?* He ſaid to me: *That will ſerve me for my Juſtification.* He alſo propoſed to me, to ſend my Servants and ſome of my Equipage to *Copenhagen* for Appearance ſake. It is he alſo who adviſed me to take my Miſtreſs by a Stratagem along with me, as is mentioned in the foregoing Paper, and not to tell either to her or to my Servants that were to go with me, that I deſigned to fly.

---

* *He did not declare this but when the Examination of the Criminals was already begun, and he was afraid the ſame thing might be diſcovered without him.*

He alſo adviſed me to borrow of *Ilia Iſaief* five thouſand Ducats and more; this has appeared by the Payments that have been made, and has been already mentioned above.

All this was done by his Advice.

THE Czarewitz did write with his own Hand in his Confeſſion to all the Articles of theſe Interrogatories drawn up by his Czariſh Majeſty, the Names of ſome who adviſed him to his Evaſion, and who had knowledge of it; but he did not name them all, nor at the ſame time. He has entirely concealed a great deal; as alſo his true Deſign of Rebellion and his Machinations againſt his Czariſh Majeſty his Father and his Lord, of which he has declared or diſcovered nothing.

Particularly in the fourth Article of his Interrogatories the Czarewitz did write in his Confeſſion, as is related above: " That being on the Road in his Flight, he did not " receive any Leters from any Perſon, neither from *Ruſſia*, nor from any where elſe, " on any thing, except what Count *Schönborn* wrote to him to *Ehrenberg*; firſt, that " there was Advice, that he was with them, " and that he ought to live private; ſecondly, When the Reſident *Weſeloſski* had " ſpoke on his account at *Vienna* purſuant to " Orders from Court: That he, the Czarewitz, did not remember any more to which " of Count *Schönborn*'s two Letters was joyned the Copy of one of the Reſident *Pleyer*, " adviſing that after his Departure there had " been ſome Diſorders in the Army, which " ſtood in the Country of *Mecklenbourg*, &c.

" That

" That moreover there had been a Letter " from the ſaid *Schönborn*, concerning the " deſign of removing him, the Czarewitz, " to *Naples*, and that he had received no " more Letters at *Naples*.

Yet, ſince the *Czarewitz*'s Papers were brought hither, there appear at preſent Proofs, that the *Czarewitz* actually had three Letters from the aboveſaid Imperial Miniſter, Count *Schönborn*; but that among thoſe Letters there was one making mention of a Sheet incloſed containining Advices from *Moskow*. The *Czarewitz* however in his *Paper of Confeſſion*, owned but one incloſed, which was joyned to *Schönborn*'s Letter of the Month of February, and particularly the Copy of a Letter of *Pleyer* written from *Petersbourg*; but he concealed that in *Schönborn*'s other Letter, there were theſe Words: *They write from Moskow.*

This third Letter of *Schönborn* of the 27th of February 1717, is to this Effect, " That " he gives freſh Advices to him, the Czarewitz, that they juſt begin to talk in the " World that he was loſt, ſome ſaying: That " he had made his Eſcape on account of his " Father's Cruelty; others, That he had been " put to Death by his Orders; and ſome, " That the Robbers on the Highway had " murthered him on the Road; but that no " body exactly knew where he was; that for " Curioſity ſake he incloſed a Paper containing what was written on that Head from " *Petersbourg*, but that he adviſed the unhappy Czarewitz, for his own Good, to keep " himſelf as much concealed as poſſible, be- " cauſe there would be a ſtrict Enquiry on

" this Affair, after the Czar his Father's Return " from *Amſterdam*.

However the Czarewitz did not declare in his Confeſſion this third Letter juſt now mentioned, and which was ſent to him with enclоſed Pieces from *Moskow*.

The Czarewitz did write in his Confeſſion, that Count *Schönborn*'s Secretary, whoſe Name is *Keil*, forced him to write to the Senate, and to the Archbiſhops, when he carried him to the Lodgings of the Vice-Roy's Secretary *Wingarten* at *Naples*; that the ſaid *Keil* told him: *If you will not write, we will not keep you*, and that he did not leave him till he had written. That he, the Czarewitz, conſtrained to it by the ſaid Secretary, did at length write to the *Senate*, and to the two *Archbiſhops*, *viz.* that of *Roſtow*, and that of *Kruditz*, in Subſtance what is mentioned above in the Interrogatory. That they did not permit him to make Draughts of thoſe Letters, and that there was but a Piece left him of the one, *&c.* as is ſet forth in the Confeſſions above.

However, there were but lately found about his Miſtreſs *Aphroſini*, among his Papers, the true Draughts, written, finiſhed with his own Hand, agreeing with the Letters which he left with the Imperialiſts: The Contents are:

To the Senate.

GENTLEMEN MOST EXCELLENT SENATORS,

" I Believe you will be no leſs ſurprized " than all the World at my going out of " the Country, and at my reſiding in a Place " unknown

" unknown at preſent. The continual ill U-
" ſage, and the Diſorders, have obliged me
" to quit my dear native Country. They de-
" ſigned to ſhut me up in a Convent in the
" Beginning of the Year 1716, though I had
" committed nothing that had deſerved it.
" None of you can be ignorant of it. But God
" full of Mercy has ſaved me, by preſenting
" to me in Autumn laſt an Opportunity of
" abſenting my ſelf from my dear Country and
" you, whom I could not have reſolved to
" leave, had I not been in the Caſe where I
" found my ſelf.

" At preſent I am well and in good Health,
" under the Protection of a certain High
" Perſon, till the Time when God, who pre-
" ſerved me, ſhall call me to return to my
" dear native Country.

" I deſire you not to forſake me then, and
" as for the preſent, to give no Credit to the
" News that may be ſpread of my Death, or
" otherwiſe, out of the Deſire they have to
" blot me out of the Memory of Mankind;
" for God keeps me in his Guard, and my Be-
" factors will not forſake me. They have
" promiſed me not to forſake me, even not
" for the future, in caſe of Need.

" I am alive, and I ſhall always be full of
" good Wiſhes for your Excellencies, and for
" the whole Country.

To the Archbiſhops.

MOST SACRED VLADIKO,*

"I Imagine your Holineſs, as well as all the "World, will have been ſurprized, that "I went out of my own Country unknown "to you. The continual ill Uſage I met "with, without having deſerved it, obliged "me to it. I was very near being ſhut up "in a Convent. I believe you are not igno- "rant of it: This proceeded from the ſame "Perſons who uſed my Mother in the like "Manner. But the great God, moved by "your Prayers, has guarded me againſt it, "and conducted me under the Protection of "a certain great Prince, where I find my ſelf "well and in good Health, till the Time "when it ſhall pleaſe God that I ſhew my "ſelf again. In this Caſe, I deſire you not "to forſake me at preſent.

"If there is, or if there has been any News "relating to me, as if I was dead, or any o- "thers of that Nature, for they are willing "to blot me out of the Memory of the Peo- "ple, give no Credit to it, and oblige me, by "by keeping the well-meaning in Heart, for "I am alive, and full of good Wiſhes for "you.

The *Czarewitz* made no mention in his Interrogatories of the aboveſaid Expreſſion: *In this Caſe do not forſake me at preſent*; and the Words *at preſent* were twice written, and blotted out again.

* Vladiko. *This is a Title that is given to the Archbiſhops to expreſs their Primacy.*

The

The Imperial Court keep thoſe Letters at *Vienna*, and they were not ſent to St. *Peterſbourg*. But *His Czariſh Majeſty* ordered the Reſident *Abraham Weſelofsky*, to demand of the Emperor the Reaſon why they forced the *Czarewitz* to write them, and that they ſhould reſtore the Letters. The Reſident, *Abraham Weſelofsky*, anſwered hereupon on the 28th of May in his Relation:

"That upon his Repreſentations, Prince "*Eugene*, by the Emperor's Command, ſig- "nified to him, that the Vice-Chancellor "*Count Schönborn* had been examined in the "Preſence of the whole Miniſtry, about theſe "three Letters of the *Czarewitz Alexei Pe-* "*trowitz*; and that it appeared in Effect, "that the *Czarewitz* himſelf ſent thoſe Let- "ters to the Vice-Chancellor, to be forward- "ed to *Poland* for Advice concerning the "Place of his Reſidence; but that thoſe "Letters were not ſent, and that they re- "mained with them: that even they were "ſhewn to him ſealed without Superſcripti- "on; but that they were not delivered to "him, Prince *Eugene* ſaying, that the *Em-* "*peror* never ordered to demand of the *Czare-* "*witz* ſuch ſort of Letters, and that it was "impoſſible that Count *Schönborn* ſhould have "cauſed him to be forced to it without Or- "ders.

The *Czarewitz* hearing afterwards that they had begun to examine the other Perſons, he preſented to *His Czariſh Majeſty* another Paper of Confeſſion.

Frederic Dubrofsky owned in his Interrogatories, that he had Knowledge of the *Czarewitz*'s Flight, who had talked to him about it,

it, and that he adviſed him to make his Eſcape. Yet the *Czarewitz* concealed *Dubroſski* in his firſt Interrogatories, and juſtified him as if he had known nothing of his Evaſion, nor of his Conferences with *Kikin*.

Semon. Nariſhkin owned in his Interrogatories, that having met the *Czarewitz* between *Memel* and *Konigsberg*, he told him by *Kikin*'s Orders: *You do wrong that you come hither, you might have remained where you were, and for a long while too.*

Yet all this was concealed in the *Czarewitz*'s firſt Confeſſion.

On the 20th of February, when the Proceedings of the criminal Proceſs of *Suſdal* were begun, *Doſſifei*, formerly Biſhop of *Roſtow*, was brought hither from the latter Place, who, in his Interrogatories, confeſſed ſeveral indecent things to the Charge of the Czarewna *Mary Alexiewna*, and of the late Czariſſe, the Nun *Helena*.

All thoſe Examinations being already begun, the *Czarewitz*, on the 27th of February, gave to *His Czariſh Majeſty* a Paper, in which he confeſſed, that having met on the Road the ſaid Princeſs *Mary Alexiewna*, he diſcourſed with her about his own Mother, the late Czariſſe; but he did not own at that time, that the ſaid Princeſs had Knowledge of the Deſign of his Flight, as he did alſo conceal all this in his firſt *Paper of Confeſſions*.

Ivan Affonaſſief and *Frederick Ebarlakof* did alſo charge the *Czarewitz* in their Interrogatories in writing, *viz.* the former, that he had heard his Brother ſay, that the *Czarewitz* ſwore againſt the Lady *Anniſſe Tolſtoy*, the Prince *Menchicof*, and his Siſter-in-Law *Barbara*

Barbara Arſenief, that he would cauſe them to be empaled, as alſo that he did fly into a Paſſion againſt *Affonaſſief*.

That at another Time, being in a Paſſion againſt the Great Chancellor Count *Golofkin*, and the Prince *Trubetzkoi*, he uſed to ſay, they were the Cauſe of his marrying the Crown-Princeſs, that they had tied to his Neck a Devil of a Woman, adding: *Nothing but Death ſhall hinder me from making them pay for it, and I will cauſe the Head of his Son* Alexander Golofkin *to be ſet up on a Pole.*

Affonaſſief asking the *Czarewitz*, how he durſt ſpeak ſo boldly, he anſwered. *I ſpit upon all the others. God bleſs the Populace. If I ſee my Time, when my Father is not in the Way, I will tell the Archbiſhops ſomething in their Ears, which the Archbiſhops will tell again to the Parſons, and the Parſons to their Pariſhioners. I am ſure they will make me reign, ſhould it be againſt my own Will.*

"That the *Czarewitz* alſo uſed to ſay: *Re-*
"*member what I ſay. You will ſee* Peterſ-
"burg *will not long be ours.*

And that when the *Czarewitz* was obliged to go to *His Czariſh Majeſty*, or to be preſent with his Father at ſome Entertainment, or to ſee Ships launched, he uſed to ſay: *I had rather row in a Galley, or be in a Fever, than to be preſent on thoſe Occaſions.*

Frederick Eharlakof did confeſs, that in the Year 1715. when the Crown-Princeſs was ſtill alive, the *Czarewitz* in Confidence told him, as follows:

It is Pity I did not take Kikin's *Advice, to fly into* France. *I ſhould live more quietly there than here, till proper Time. I ſhould even*

be

be better in the Monaſtery of St. Michael *at* Kioſ, *or in a Priſon, than here.*

The ſame *Ebarlakof* has owned, that the *Czarewitz* often deſignedly took Phyſick, feigning ſome Indiſpoſition, when he was to go on ſome Journey with *His Czariſh Majeſty*, in order to excuſe himſelf by this Trick.

So that the *Czarewitz* diſſembled and concealed all this, and that *Ebarlakof* had Knowledge of his Deſign of eſcaping, and of his Conferences with *Kikin*.

Afterwards the *Czarewitz*'s Miſtreſs, who accompanied him in his Flight, being brought hither, examined and interrogated, whether the *Czarewitz* did not write ſome other Letters beſides thoſe three to the *Senate* and to the *Archbiſhops*; and to whom? As alſo, whether ſhe did not know any thing elſe of him, and what? Whether there had not been ſome Diſcourſes between them concerning his ill Deſigns, of which he had made no mention in his Confeſſions? She declared by Word of Mouth, and afterwards wrote with her own Hand, what follows, *viz.*

That after the three Letters aforeſaid, the *Czarewitz* did write in the Fortreſs, in the Ruſſian Language, a Letter to an *Archbiſhop*; that there was no Stranger preſent; that he, the *Czarewitz*, ſhe and her Brother were there: That this was done, not on one of the firſt Days of his Arrival at *Naples*, but a very long while after his being in the Fortreſs; that he ſealed that Letter in her Preſence, but that ſhe did not know to what Archbiſhop it was directed.

That he alſo wrote to the *Emperor*, complaining of the *Czar*; and laſt of all, a little

before the Arrival of M. *Tolſtoy*, at which Time he might have had an Anſwer.

That as to the *Archbiſhops*, he had ſometimes talked of them, commending one whoſe Name ſhe did not remember.

That the Letters written to the *Archbiſhops* were ſent with the Deſign, that they ſhould receive them privately by indirect Ways, for fear they might become accountable for it, if they were delivered to their own Hands.

That the *Czarewitz* had alſo talked with her of the Mutiny of the Army in *Mecklenbourg*, as if he had read it in the Gazettes: That afterwards he told her, "*There is already a Rebellion in the neighbouring Towns of* "Moskow:" That this News was come to him ſtraight from thence by Letters, without ſaying from whom: That he rejoyced at it, and often ſaid: *There you ſee it, God interpoſes.*

That as to his Evaſion, ſhe had heard him ſay, that four Perſons had Knowledge of it, among whom was the Czarewna *Mary Alexiewna*, to whom he had ſaid: *I will hide my ſelf:* That he alſo gave her to underſtand, he would remove all the old Courtiers, and chuſe new ones according to his own Fancy: That when he heard ſome Talk of Viſions, or that he read in the Gazette, that all was quiet at *Petersbourg*, he ſaid: *This ſignifies ſomething, either the Death of my Father, or ſome Rebellion.*

That being at *Ehrenberg*, he ſaid he would retire to ſome free Town, and that *Dubroſki*, or ſome body elſe, had adviſed him to it: That when he had taken the Reſolution to return to his Father, the ſame Day that he came

came out of the Caſtle of St. *Elmo*, he gave her the Draught of a Letter he was writing to the *Emperor*, full of Complaints againſt his Father, and which he intended to ſhew to to the Vice-Roy of *Naples*; that, however, he ordered her to burn it, which accordingly ſhe did; that all thoſe Letters were written in the Ruſſian Language; that there were many of them, but ſhe did not know whether they were all to the *Emperor*.

That the Vice-Roy's Secretary came to him before thoſe Letters were burnt, and that the *Czarewitz* told him ſome Words in High-Dutch, which the Secretary wrote down, filling a whole Sheet with it, and that he took away with him five Sheets of Paper in all.

On the 12th of May the *Czarewitz* being interrogated upon all that is aforeſaid, did anſwer upon the Declaration of the Woman *Afroſini*.

"That he did write to the *Emperor*, com-
" plaining of his Father; but that he did not
" ſend the Letter, having only made an Ab-
" ſtract of it, conformably to which Abſtract
" he explained to the Secretary the Motives
" of his Evaſion, and the Reaſons of his re-
" fuſing to return; that nothing of it re-
" mained in Writing, and that the Draughts
" of it were burnt. That he did not write
" to the Archbiſhops in the Fortreſs.

" That he had diſcourſed on Occaſion of
" the Letters to the Archbiſhops, not in the
" Senſe as ſhe, the Woman, did declare; but
" that he only ſaid, that the Letters ought to
" be left at the Poſt-Houſe at *Petersbourg*, at
" the Hazard how they might get them, pro-
" vided

" vided always that they be not delivered to
" their own Hands.

" That, as to the Viſions, and concerning
" his Father, it might be that he talked in
" the manner aforeſaid.

" That *Dubroſski* and *Affonaſſief* had adviſed
" him to retire to ſome free Town.

" That it was true, he ordered the Letters
" in Queſtion to be burnt.

He was confronted with the Woman *Afroſini* concerning the Points which he had conteſted; and he ſtill denied in that Confrontation what the Woman had charged him with in her Depoſition. But ſhe having maintained it to his Face, convicted him of it, and ſet it down in Writing.

The ſame Day the *Czarewitz* was again interrogated upon the foregoing Articles; and at length, after many Convictions, he did own:

" That he wrote to the Emperor the Rea-
" ſons of his Evaſion, and of his refuſing to
" return; but that he did not remember any
" thing elſe.

" That abſolutely he did not write from the
" Fortreſs to any Archbiſhop.

" That he told the Czarewna *Mary*, con-
" cerning his Flight: *I will hide my ſelf*,
" and that he owned himſelf guilty in not
" having declared it in his Confeſſions.

" That as to the Letters to the Archbiſhops,
" he ſaid: That they ſhould be thrown into
" the Poſt at *Petersbourg*, from whence they
" might get them as well as they could. That
" what he ſaid about Viſions, the Gazettes,
" and his Father, he had it from the *Czare-*
" *witz* of *Siberia*'s Mouth.

" That *Dubrofski* and *Affonaſſief* were the " Perſons who adviſed him to retire to ſome " free Town.

" That he told to the Secretary of the " Vice-Roy of *Naples*, the Motives of his " Evaſion, and the Reaſons he had for refuſ- " ing to return.

The *Czarewitz* did afterwards further anſwer upon his Interrogatories concerning the Letters which he had not owned: " That he " received three Letters from Count *Schönborn*; that that, in which it is pretended " there was one Incloſed from *Moskow*, and " the Incloſed it ſelf, did not come to his " Hands: But that he received in the Letter " of February an Incloſed of what *Pleyer* " wrote from *Petersbourg*; and that there was " no Incloſed in the Letter of the Month of " April.

" That it was certain he was conſtrained " to write to the *Senate* and to the *Archbiſhops*, and that it was not of his own Motion he did it; but that he did not remember any more, whether in the Letter to " the Senate was to be found this Expreſſion, " *Diſorders*; nor that, *without having committed any thing that deſerved it*.

" That in the original Letter to the Archbiſhops, thoſe Words are not to be found: " *The ſame Perſons who uſed my Mother in the like Manner*.

" That he did not remember why the " Words, *at preſent*, were twice blotted out.

" That he deſignedly concealed *Dubrofski*, " becauſe he had ſpoken with him Face to " Face, and that conſequently he would write " nothing of it in his Confeſſions.

" That it was out of Forgetfulneſs he de-
" clared nothing of *Simon Nariſhkin* and *Ki-*
" *kin*.

" That he had ſpoke of his Eſcape to the
" *Czarewna* in theſe Terms: *I will hide my*
" *ſelf*: That he owned himſelf guilty in not
" having declared it in his Confeſſions, becauſe
" he had Compaſſion for her.

He declared upon the Depoſitions of Aſſonaſſief *and* Ebarlakof.

" THAT he talked of the Populace, being
" in a Paſſion, and in Drink.

" That he did not hold thoſe Diſcourſes
" with which they charged him, relating to
" the Archbiſhops.

" That it was in his Paſſion he ſpoke of the
" Count *Golofkin*, of his Son, and of the
" Prince *Trubetzkoi*.

" That all the World knew he married of
" his own Accord, and not by Force; that
" his Letters to his Father, * to ask his Leave
" for it, clearly proved it, and that he had
" written thirteen at leaſt on that Subject.

" That he learned from the Mouth of the
" *Siberian Czarewitz*, what he had ſaid of St.
" *Petersbourg*.

" That it was out of Forgetfulneſs that he
" did not declare *Ebarlakof* in his Confeſſions;
" but that it was true he had held with him
" the Diſcourſes alledged.

" That ſometimes he took Phyſick for a
" Sham, that People might think him indi-
" ſpoſed; that he owned himſelf guilty of it.

* *Thoſe Letters are ſtill kept in Original.*

The *Czarewitz* afterwards desired *His Czariſh Majeſty* to give him Time to think and and to write, promiſing that he would ſet down all that ſhould occur to his Memory.

His Majeſty gave him Leave, and at the ſame Time declared to him; that, ſeeing he had concealed in his Confeſſions many things which he owned at preſent, he again repeated to him what had been ſignified to him before, that he ought to diſcover all that had any relation to this Affair, even if he ſhould not be interrogated about it.

Upon which the Czarewitz in the ſaid Month of May, gave in Confeſſions ſigned with his own Hand, upon thoſe Interrogatories.

In the firſt Confeſſion of the 14th *of May, he wrote as follows.*

"I Did not ſeal any Letter before M. *Tolſtoy*'s Arrival; but the Vice-Roy's Secretary having ſent me the Plan, and a Relation of the Siege of *Belgrad*, had deſired me to ſend it back to him ſealed up, that the Captain, who was with me, might not know what was ſent to me, becauſe I paſſed for a Priſoner; accordingly I ſent the ſaid Plan back ſealed up.

"I alſo wrote a Note to the ſaid Secretary, I do not know on what Subject, but I think it was concerning ſome of my Occaſions.

"The Captain who was with me, ſhewed me from time to time printed Plans of ſeveral Attacks.

"I knew nothing of the Archbiſhop of *Reſan*'s Sermon, becauſe I had not been at

"*Moskow*

" *Moskow* long before: It was in *Pomerania*, " if I remember right, that I heard for the " firſt time the Prince *Baſili Dolgoruki*, or " perhaps *Frederick Glebof*, talk of it; one of " the two told me: *The Archbiſhop of* Reſan, " *preaching at* Moskow, *has made mention of* " *you in bad Terms, as if you were expelled,* " *and the Senators have obliged him to give* " *them a Copy of his Sermon.*

" The Archbiſhop of *Reſan* did write to " me ſome time before, and I to him, though " ſeldom, except when there were preſſing " Affairs: But as ſoon as I had notice of that " Sermon, I broke off that Correſpondence, " and I went no more to ſee the ſaid Arch- " biſhop, nor did I permit him to come to " me, to give no Room for Suſpicions.

" I told the Woman *Afroſini*, that I had " written Letters purſuant to the aboveſaid " Secretary's Inſtructions, but not to People " with whom I was in great Correſpondence; " *I believe*, ſaid I, *the Senators will ſhew my* " *Letter; but I do not believe they will be call-* " *ed to an Account for it, being ſo many in* " *Number, and even ſhould it happen ſo, they* " *can ſay nothing of me; for I made them in* " *no manner privy to my Eſcape. And as to* " *the Archbiſhops, if they ſhould burn them a-* " *live, they cannot ſay I ever communicated any* " *thing to them.*

" Though I was obliged to write to the " Archbiſhop of *Reſan*, as well as the two " Archbiſhops aboveſaid, becauſe the Secre- " tary had told me to write to the principal " Perſons Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, yet I did " not do it; to the End they might not think " I had concerted my Eſcape with him, for

" I was better acquainted with him than with " the others, and the Suſpicions had been " ſtronger againſt him and me, by reaſon of " the Sermon he had preached.

" What I wrote concerning my Return to " my own Country, * was to be underſtood " after my Father's Death, and not in his " Life-time.

In the ſecond Confeſſion of the 16th *of May, he wrote as follows.*

" GENERAL *Bauer* was in *Poland* at " the Time of my Eſcape, with his " Body of Troops: He was one of my Friends. " I believed my Father's Death was near, " when I heard that he had had a ſort of *E-* " *pilepſy:* As they ſaid, that People ſome- " what in Years who have had it, can hardly " live long, I believed he would die in two " Years at furtheſt. I thought that, after " his Death, I might go out of the Emperor's " Dominions to *Poland*, and from *Poland* " with *Bauer* into *Ukraina*, where I did not " queſtion but every one would declare for " me; and I believed that at *Moskow* the " Czarewna *Mary*, and ſome Archbiſhops, " and even the greater Part of them, would " do the ſame. And as for the common Peo- " ple, I heard many Perſons ſay, that they " loved me. †

" As for what remains, I was reſolved ab- " ſolutely not to return in my Father's Life-

---

* *The contrary will appear hereafter.*

† *All this is not fairly written, as appeared afterwards, and ſhall be proved hereafter.*

" time,

" time, except in the Caſe I did, *viz.* upon " his recalling me.

" I had truſted no body with the Secret " of my intended Eſcape, neither by Word " of Mouth nor in Writing, and no body " whoſoever knew any thing of it. It is " true, I told *Afroſini*, that ſuch an one, or " ſuch another, were my Friends; but when " ſhe asked me, who they were, I ſaid to her: " *You do not know thoſe Perſons.*

" As to the Letter concerning which ſhe " depoſed, and which I denied, ſaying, it had " been the Plan of the Siege of *Belgrad*; I " own at preſent that it was no Plan, but a " Letter which I had written to the Arch- " biſhop of *Kioff*, a little before M. *Tolſtoy's* " Arrival at *Naples*. I ſhall ſet down the " Contents of that Letter hereafter.

" When I gave my firſt Confeſſion in writ- " ting, I had truly forgotten this, as well as " what regards the Czarewna *Mary*, about " my letting her into the Secret of my in- " tended Eſcape, and though it occurred to " me again, yet I was afraid to tell it after- " wards. The other Diſcourſes of that Prin- " ceſs I concealed out of Compaſſion.

" I do not deny what *Ivan Affonaſſief* de- " poſed, about what I told him being in " Drink, though I do not remember it " Word for Word; but I was drunk, and " when I was in that Condition, it was al- " ways my Way to ſay what came upper- " moſt, and I ſlipt thoſe Words, truſting to " my Servants.

The Substance of the Letter to the Archbishop of Kioff, *is as follows.*

"*YOUR Holiness was ignorant of my Departure out of* Russia, *because it is long since I have not written to you. At present I acquaint you that I have resolved upon this Step, because they intended to make me embrace the Monastical State by force. This is what has obliged me to withdraw. When God shall recall me from the Refuge which I have found with my Benefactors, to return to* Russia *among you, I desire you to receive me; and as for the present, tell those who wish to know how I do, that I am well, and acquaint them with the Reasons I had to go out of the Country.*

"I sent this Letter to *Vienna* by the Secretary of the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, to get it forwarded; but I do not know whether it was delivered. I am also uncertain of the Fate of the preceding Letters, with which I charged Count *Schönborn*'s Secretary. Thus much is true, I had no Answer from *Vienna*, whether they were received or no.

"I heard *Dubroski* discourse about *Epilepsy*, and make Reflexions on that Subject, as aboveſaid.

The *Czarewitz* was examined the same Day upon the following Articles drawn up by *His Czarish Majesty*; the Answers the *Czarewitz* made thereupon, are signed with his own Hand.

ARTICLES.

ARTICLES.

I.

Who of the ſecular Perſons knew your Deſign and your Diſpoſitions to Diſobedience? What Diſcourſes did you hold with them, or they with you?

ANSWERS.

Ad Primum.

I do not know that any body knew of my bad Deſign whatſoever, nor any body whoſoever talked to me about it, except thoſe I confeſſed above.

II.

Thoſe things which Affonaſſief *depoſed concerning the Rebellion, did they happen before the Succeſſion?*

Ad Secundum.

When I talked with *Affonaſſief* about the Rebellion, it was in a drunken Fit, believing that there would be one.

III.

In what Senſe was the Word at preſent *written, which is ſet down twice in the Draught of the Letter to the Archbiſhops?*

Ad Tertium.

The writing of the Word *at preſent* twice, was occaſioned by my writing wrong, I deſigning to write it but once. The Senſe was: That they ſhould diſperſe thoſe Letters among

mong the People, which in my Opinion might ſtill more engage them to declare for me, having ſeen an Inſtance of it in the printed Gazettes. I afterwards thought it was wrong, and therefore blotted it out.

IV.

When you ſaw in Pleyer's *Letter that there was a Revolt in the Army of* Mecklenbourg, *you rejoyced at it, ſaying:* God does not ſuffer Affairs to go according to my Father's Wiſhes. *But when you rejoyced in this manner, I believe you had ſome View, in caſe the thing had truly been ſo, and that you would have declared for the Rebels, even in my Life-time.*

Ad Quartum.

When I heard of the Revolt of the Army in *Mecklenbourg*, I ſaid in my Joy, that God would not permit Affairs to go according to my Father's Wiſhes.

If this News had been true, and if they had called me, I would have joyned the Malecontents; but I had no formed Deſign whether I ſhould go and joyn them, or no, unleſs I was called. On the contrary, if they had not ſent for me, I ſhould have been afraid of going thither. But if they had, I would have gone.

I believed they would not call for me but when you were no more, becauſe they deſigned to take away your Life, and I did not believe that they would dethrone you and let you live. But if they had called me, even in your Life-time, probably I ſhould have gone, if they had been ſtrong enough.

As

As the *Czarewitz* confeſſed in this laſt Anſwer that he had had criminal Deſigns with an Intent to put them in Execution, even in *His Czariſh Majeſty's* Life-time, if Occaſion ſhould preſent: His Majeſty ordered the Sieurs *Tolſtoy* and *Buturlin* to examine him once more on the foreſaid Letter to the Archbiſhops, to know in what Senſe and with what View he had written thoſe Words, *at preſent do not forſake me:* The *Czarewitz* confirmed that it was in the Senſe he had juſt before ſaid in his Anſwer, and he wrote with his own Hand what follows:

On the 26th *of* May, 1718.

" THE Sieurs *Tolſtoy* and *Buturlin* have " asked me by your Order, with what " View I made uſe of the Word *at preſent* " (which ſtands in my Confeſſions) in wri- " ting to the Senate and to the Archbiſhops: " Not to forſake me.

" As I have owned in my laſt Confeſſion, " that if the Rebels had called me at any " Time even during your Life, I would have " joyned them; I wrote theſe Words, *at* " *preſent*, with the Deſign, that if the thing " ſhould be made publick among the People, " they might declare in my Favour, either " by way of Sollicitation, or by Menaces, in " what manner ſoever.

Here

Here follows the EXPLANATION *of all the* FOREGOING PIECES.

TO make the better appear the great Care *His Czariſh Majeſty* has taken to put the *Czarewitz* in the right way, and to reclaim him when he deviated from it, in order to engage him to render himſelf worthy of the Succeſſion; and to make the Publick ſenſible how on the contrary the *Czarewitz* fruſtrated his Father's Hopes by his Oppoſition; the whole Affair ſhall be ſtill put in a better Light by the following Explanation, though it was amply enough ſet forth in the foregoing Pieces.

It is notorious by the firſt Manifeſto publiſhed on the *Czarewitz's* arrival at *Moskow*, and by *his Czariſh Majeſty's* Letters to him, inſerted above, with how many repeated Sollicitations his Majeſty his Father has exhorted him to render himſelf capable and worthy of the Succeſſion: But he always ſhewed himſelf refractory.

The *Czarewitz*, when he anſwered the Letter written to him by *his Czariſh Majeſty* after the Funeral of his Conſort, did not tell the Reaſons, why he would not do his Endeavours, purſuant to his Father's Wiſh, to render himſelf capable of the ſaid Succeſſion. He only contented himſelf with deceiving him by falſe Oaths, by which he engaged to renounce it, and which he has nevertheleſs not only violated, but he has alſo aimed at the ſaid Succeſſion by ill Practices.

His

His Czariſh Majeſty who ſaw through his Son's bad Inclinations, ſtill exhorted him by other Letters to make himſelf fit for Government, and repreſented to him, in order to terrify and engage him to conform to his Intentions, that if it was abſolutely impoſſible for him ſo to do, he ought to embrace the monaſtical State. He well ſaw that the *Czarewitz's* Renunciation to the Succeſſion was but an Illuſion, and that there was no Sincerity in it, as appeared by the Conſequences. For far from giving a clear and poſitive Anſwer to *his Czariſh Majeſty's* Letter exhorting him to determine with himſelf; he ſtill had recourſe to Evaſions, giving only ſhort and indeterminate Anſwers, and uſing Oaths and Prayers to have Leave forthwith to retire into a Convent, all which however he did fraudulently.

His Majeſty therefore being on his Departure from *Petersbourg* to foreign Countries, when he bid him farewell, told him, that he ought not ſo ſoon to enter into the Convent, becauſe ſuch an Engagement was difficult for a young Man, and he gave him ſix Months ſtill to think upon it, after which he ſhould write to his Majeſty what Reſolution he would take.

His Majeſty made uſe of this Method in Hopes he might change his Opinion, and that by a better Conduct he might conform to his Father's Will, to render himſelf worthy of the Succeſſion by an earneſt Application to all his Duties.

The *Czarewitz* being then unwilling to return his Father any Anſwer upon that Subject, feigned himſelf ſick; but his Majeſty being

being hardly set out, he went to an Entertainment at *Michael Voinoff*'s House.

The six Months passed nor did the *Czarewitz* explain himself what Choice he had made.

His Majesty who saw his Deceit, wrote to him once more from *Copenhagen*, repeating his Exhortations relating to the Succession, and ordered him to repair to him there to learn the Art of War; but that in case he was willing to retire into a Convent, he ought to chuse one, fix the Time and write back to his Majesty, who even was unwilling to prescribe or prefix one to him.

It is evident from his Majesty's three Letters above inserted, that he wished he would render himself capable of the Succession; that he was unwilling to force him to turn Monk, that on the contrary he endeavoured to divert him from it, and that he left him at an entire Liberty to chuse.

The *Czarewitz* feigned as if he had of his own Motion chosen a Convent: Yet all those Promises though confirmed by Oaths, proved fraudulent; for it appeared in effect, as is proved above, that the *Czarewitz* sought the Succession, of which his Majesty not only had not deprived him, but even had forced him by his powerful Exhortations to lay claim to it by endeavouring to make himself worthy of it.

But the *Czarewitz* slighting all this, made his Escape and fled to the Emperor for Refuge, claiming his Assistance and Protection in succouring and assisting him, even with armed Force, and he has said that the Emperor caused him to be assured by the Vice-Chancellor Count

Count *Schönborn* that he would help him to the Crown of *Ruſſia*, not only by good Offices but alſo by Force of Arms. So that the *Czarewitz* has not only hoped for his Father's Death with Expreſſions of Joy, but alſo ſought it; and when it was reported to him that there were Rebellions, it pleaſed him, he being reſolved to go and joyn the Rebels, if they called him, whether that had happened in his Father's Life-time or after his Death.

He can be convicted by his own Confeſſions, that when he wrote in his Anſwers to his Father, that he did not deſire the Succeſſion by reaſon of his Infirmity, it were mere Lies.

He only took Phyſick that he might ſeem indiſpoſed, when there was a talk of ſome Journey which he did not care to take as his Father would have him, but he was not truely ſo.

So that one may judge by all thoſe Circumſtances, that he had a mind for the Succeſſion, not indeed in the manner his Father would leave it to him, *viz.* in the Order required, but in his own way, by foreign Aſſiſtance, or by the Strength of Rebels, even in his Father's Life-time.

What the Czarewitz ſaid in his laſt Confeſſion *viz.* that it was out of Forgetfulneſs he failed to own that he had written from *Naples* to the Metropolitan of *Kioff*, this has alſo been found to be falſe: For ſeeing he could well remember the Particulars of Things of leſs Conſequence, about which he diſcourſed with ſome Perſons or other ſeveral Years ago, as appears by his Interrogatories, how could he

he have forgotten this one Particular, concerning his writing to the ſaid Archbiſhop, which is of far greater Conſequence?

In this Plea of his Forgetfulneſs, there appears not only Falſhood, but alſo great Malice: For when the Woman *Afroſini* maintained to his Face that he wrote from the Fortreſs to the ſaid Archbiſhop, and that he ſealed up the Letter in her Preſence, he pretended to cloak the matter with the Pretext of a Plan of the Attack of *Belgrade*, which he ſent back ſealed up to the Secretary of the Vice-Roy of *Naples*; however he owned afterwards, that it was not the Plan, but the Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Kioff* which he had ſealed up: The Excuſe likewiſe which he offered that he had forgotten to own in his firſt Confeſſion what concerned the Czarewna *Mary Alexiewna*, *Dubroſski* and *Ebarlakoff*, who knew of his Eſcape, was alſo a Lie. It is proved by his ſaying afterwards, that he had Compaſſion for the *Czarewna*.

It alſo appears by the Report inſerted above, which the Reſident *Weſelofski* ſent from *Vienna*, that the Imperialiſts did not force the *Czarewitz* to write the ſaid Letters to the Senate and to the Archbiſhops.

The gracious Pardon which his *Czariſh Majeſty* promiſed to the *Czarewitz* in the Letters which he wrote to him to *Naples*, ſolely related to his Evaſion, in caſe he returned to him. He not only forgave him upon his Return, but he alſo extended this Favour ſo far as to promiſe him a general Amneſty for all he had committed, provided he made a ſincere Confeſſion of all that he had done, of what nature ſoever, and that he

discovered his Accomplices without any Reserve; declaring to him however at the same time, that if he hid any thing, or concealed any Person that had been accessory, or any other Affair, the Pardon should be void and revoked.

Notwithstanding which, all the foregoing Pieces clearly shew, how the *Czarewitz* slighting this paternal Clemency and the Pardon he obtained, has concealed a great number of Persons, of Letters, and of Facts, as also his pernicious Designs of joyning Rebels, and his other Machinations.

It is visible therefore by all this, that not only he had no true Intention to discover all his Crimes and sincerely to repent of them, or to convert himself; but even that he disguised and concealed all that had happened, in order to be able to renew his Designs hereafter, and to resume what he could not finish hitherto.

DURING the reading of all that is above, *his Czarish Majesty* from time to time further examined the *Czarewitz* by word of Mouth, on all his Crimes laid open in those several Pieces, in what manner every thing had happened; and after many Interrogations and Questions on the most important things, of which his Majesty shewed him the Proofs for his Conviction, with the Letters written with his own Hand, the *Czarewitz* confessed to his Father and Lord, in the presence of the whole Assembly of the States Ecclesiastical and Secular, *that he was guilty of all that is contained in all the Papers and Pieces above related.*

The Court being broke up, and the *Czarewitz* carried back, his Majesty caused an Ordinance to be produced to the Archbishops and the secular States, which he had signed with his own Hand, the Tenor whereof is as follows:

DECLARATION

To the most sacred Metropolitans and Archbishops, to the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks.

" YOU have just now heard a most ample " Deduction of Crimes almost un-
" heard of in the World, of which our Son
" is guilty, and which he has committed a-
" gainst us, his Father and his Lord.
" Though according to all Laws Divine
" and Civil, and above all, according to those
" of *Russia*, which exclude all Jurisdiction be-
" tween Father and Child, even among pri-
" vate Persons, we have a Power full and ab-
" solute enough to judge our Son according
" to his Crimes, after our own Will, with-
" out asking any body's Advice upon it: Yet
" as it is very common that People are not so
" clear-sighted in their own Affairs as in those
" of others, and as also Physicians, even the
" most experienced, do not venture to cure
" themselves, but send for others in their In-
" dispositions; so we, fearing God and the
" Sin, likewise lay before you our Case, and
" we ask you a Remedy for it: For we are
" apprehensive of eternal Death, if not know-
" ing perhaps the Nature of our Evil, we

" alone ſhould pretend to cure our ſelves of
" it, and this the rather, becauſe we have
" ſworn by the Judgements of God, and we
" have promiſed to our Son in writing his
" Pardon, and have afterwards confirmed it
" by word of Mouth, in caſe he told us the
" Truth.

" Though our Son has violated his Pro-
" miſe, in concealing the moſt important
" things, touching his rebellious Deſigns a-
" gainſt us his Lord and his Father, yet that
" we might not in any thing ſwerve from
" our Obligations, and though the Affair is
" not of the Cognizance of the Spiritual Ju-
" riſdiction, but of the Civil, and that we
" even referred it to Day to an impartial
" Judgement of the Secularity by an expreſs
" Declaration, we are deſirous to get all ſorts
" of Light in this Affair.

" Reflecting on that Paſſage of the Word
" of God, where he exhorts to ask on the
" like Occaſions the Opinion of Churchmen,
" to know what God ordains about it, pur-
" ſuant to what is written in *Exodus*, ch.
" xvii. We deſire of you Archbiſhops and
" the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, as Doctors of
" the Word of God, not that you ſhould pro-
" nounce Judgement on this Affair, but that
" you do examine it, and give us thereupon,
" according to his holy Scriptures, a true
" Inſtruction, to know what Puniſhment ſo
" horrid a Crime of our Son, like that of
" *Abſalom*, has deſerved according to divine
" Law, according to the other Examples of
" the holy Scriptures, and according to the
" Commandments; which you are to give us
" in writing, ſigned with every one's own

"Hand, to the End that being ſufficiently "inſtructed in this Affair, we may not in "any thing charge our Conſcience.

"And ſo we place our Confidence in you, "as Guardians of the Divine Law, according "to your Dignity, as faithful Paſtors of the "Chriſtian Flock, and as well intentioned for "your Country, and we conjure you by the "Judgements of God and your own Conſe-"cration to proceed herein without any Diſ-"ſimulation and Fear.

DECLARATION

To our Truſty and Well-beloved the Sieurs Miniſters, Senators, and States Military and Civil.

"YOU have juſt now heard a moſt ample "Deduction of Crimes almoſt un-"heard of in the World, of which our Son "is guilty, and which he has committed a-"gainſt us his Father and his Lord.

"Though according to all Laws Divine "and Civil, and above all according to thoſe "of *Ruſſia*, which exclude all Juriſdiction "between Father and Child, even among "private Perſons, we have a Power full and "abſolute enough to judge our Son accord-"ing to his Crimes, after our own Will, "without asking any body's Advice upon "it; Yet as it is very common that People "are not ſo clear-ſighted in their own Af-"fairs as in thoſe of others, and as alſo Phy-"ſicians, even the moſt experienced, do not "venture to cure themſelves, but ſend for

" others in their Indiſpoſitions; therefore, " fearing God and being apprehenſive of " charging our Conſcience with ſome Sin, we " lay before you our Caſe and ask you a Re- " medy for it; for we are apprehenſive of " eternal Death, if not knowing perhaps the " Nature of our Evil, we would alone " cure our ſelves of it, particularly conſider- " ing that we have ſworn by the Judgement of " God, and that we promiſed to our Son in " writing his Pardon, and afterwards con- " firmed it by word of Mouth, in caſe he " told us the Truth.

" Though our Son has violated his Pro- " miſe, in concealing the moſt important " things, touching his rebellious Deſigns a- " gainſt us his Lord and his Father, yet that " we might not in any thing ſwerve from our " Obligations, we deſire you to think on this " Affair, and ſeriouſly and with Attention to " examine it, to ſee what he has deſerved, " without flattering us, or being apprehen- " ſive, that if he does not deſerve but a ſlight " Puniſhment, and that you judge it ſo, it " might be diſagreeable to us; for we ſwear " to you by the Great God and his Judge- " ments, that you abſolutely have nothing to " fear.

" Do not be moved neither by this Con- " ſideration that you are to judge the Son " of your Sovereign; but without having any " Regard to the Perſon, do Juſtice, and do " not deſtroy your own Soul and mine, that " our Conſcience may not reproach us on the " dreadful Day of Judgement, and that our " Country be not wronged.

On the 16th of *June*, the Privy-Councellor *Peter Tolſtoy* declared by *his Czariſh Majeſty's* Order to the Miniſters, the Senate, and the States Military and Civil, That as he had put in their Hands the Proceſs of his Son *Alexei Petrowitz* in order to pronounce Judgment upon it, it is his Will and Intention that it be done in the Form required, and with all the neceſſary Examination: Therefore his Majeſty authorizes them and gives them Power to examine the Czarewitz *Alexei Petrowitz*, if they think fit, on what Affair ſoever, to make him appear, and to interrogate him on what ſhall be neceſſary.

Upon this *his Czariſh Majeſty's* expreſs Order, Meſſieurs the Miniſters, the Senate, and the States who were preſent and aſſembled, having heard the foregoing Pieces read, agreed to interrogate the Czarewitz on the following Articles.

Interrogatory Articles for the Czarewitz ALEXEI PETROWITZ.

I.

"HE has declared concerning *Pleyer's* "Letter, that the Copy of it was "incloſed in one of *Shönborn's* Letters; but "that there had been none incloſed in that "of the ſaid *Shönborn* of the 24th of April.

"This cannot be: Becauſe Count *Shön-*"*born* therein writes with his own Hand, "that he ſends a Copy of what they write "from *Moskow*; ſo that it is not poſſible the "Count ſhould have forgotten to put the "ſaid Incloſed into his Letter; it even ap-

"pears

" pears he ſent it purpoſely to acquaint the
" *Czarewitz* with that Piece of News.

" This alſo agrees with the Declaration
" made by the Woman *Afroſini*, that the
" *Czarewitz* told her of a Rebellion in the
" Neighbourhood of *Moskow*, of which he
" pretended to be informed by Letters; ſo
" that it appears there were ſuch ſort of Let-
" ters from whomſoever they were.

" It is probable that even if *Pleyer* had ſent
" that News, he would at the ſame time
" have mentioned ſome Perſons, and that
" the *Czarewitz* perhaps burned the Letter,
" becauſe he would conceal them.

" Conſequently he ought truely to confeſs
" it at preſent, becauſe no Credit can be
" given to what he has ſaid hitherto, and
" that he has from time to time added to his
" Confeſſions. He ought to remember the
" Promiſes confirmed by ſo many Oaths,
" which he made to *his Czariſh Majeſty* his
" Father on his arrival at *Moskow*, and which
" he has repeated ſince, kiſſing the Croſs,
" and even taking the Holy Sacrament upon
" it, and again when he obtained from his
" Majeſty his Pardon in writing. He muſt
" not think himſelf exempted from confeſ-
" ſing all without Reſerve and telling us the
" mere Truth, becauſe he is the Son of our
" Sovereign: For, his Majeſty having ap-
" pointed us to be Judges over him, has al-
" ſo given us all Power in this Quality; and
" if he will not confeſs, we ſhall be obliged
" to uſe him as a common Malefactor, and
" according to what is obſerved in the like
" Caſes, when one ſtands charged with Re-

"bellion, Sedition, and blowing up Revolts,
"and framing parricidious Designs against his
"Father and Sovereign.

"Let him therefore declare the Accom-
"plices of his Conspiracy whom he has con-
"cealed, let him speak out, on whom he
"relied for Assistance, and with whom he
"conferred and conspired: For without this
"it was impossible that he should flatter him-
"self with those Hopes he had conceived,
"which he communicated to his Mistress,
"and which he has already confessed him-
"self.

II.

"On what Occasion did he talk to *Ivan*
"*Affonassief* of the Confidence he had in
"the Populace, and in what time did he de-
"sign to put in Execution what he said, *viz.*
"*If I see my Time when my Father is not in*
"*the way, I will tell to the Archbishops some-*
"*thing in their Ears.* On which Archbishop
"did he rely most in that Case? The Wo-
"man *Afrosini* having declared that he com-
"mended an Archbishop without naming
"him, it is not possible he could forget him;
"but it appears that the said Archbishop be-
"ing one of his Friends, he concealed his
"Name with the Intent to keep it in secret.
"Moreover: What time did he think to
"find in his Father's Absence?

III.

"Why and upon what Ground did he say:
"That *Petersbourg* should not long remain
"ours?

Upon

Upon which the *Czarewitz* was ſummoned to appear before the Tribunal of the Judges eſtabliſhed by *his Czariſh Majeſty* in the Hall of the Regency of the Senate, and Declaration being made to him of the Orders they had received from *his Czariſh Majeſty*, he was told, that though they were much grieved at his paſt Conduct, yet they were obliged to obey their Orders, and without having Regard for his Perſon, and his being the Son of their moſt clement Sovereign, to interrogate him on the Articles above related, which they read to him, demanding of him to make Anſwer thereupon by a true Confeſſion, attended with many Proofs.

On the 17th *of* June *the* Czarewitz *anſwered to thoſe Articles as follows:*

"PLEYER the Emperor's Reſident wrote "to Count *Shönborn* Vice-Chancellor "of the Empire, that *Abraham Lopukin* had "deſired him at *Petersbourg* to come and ſee "him: That he had asked him, where the "*Czarewitz* was then, and whether there "were any Advices concerning him, giving "him at the ſame time to underſtand what "follows: *They are here for the* Czarewitz, "*and they already begin to ſtir in the Neighbourhood of* Moskow, *for there are many "different Advices concerning him: I wiſhed poſitively to know whether he is at preſent "with you.*

"This Letter of *Pleyer* was incloſed in "that of Count *Shönborn* written to the

"*Czarewitz*

" *Czarewitz* in the Month of *April*, and he " the *Czarewitz* burned the ſaid Incloſed af- " ter having read it.

" When he told the Woman *Afroſini*, that " there was a Rebellion near *Moskow*, he had " it from the ſaid Letter, without telling her " what *Pleyer* had written to Count *Shönborn* concerning *Lopukin*.

" As for what *Ivan Affonaſſief* did confeſs " to the *Czarewitz*'s Charge concerning his " Diſcourſes about the Populace: It is true, " that the *Czarewitz* relied upon the ſaid Po- " pulace, becauſe he had heard many Perſons " ſay, he was beloved by them, particularly " *Nikifor Bazemskoi*, and his Confeſſor the " Archprieſt *James*, who often talked to him " of the Friendſhip the People had for him, " and when they drank his Health, they call- " ed him *The Hopes of the Ruſſians*.

After this the *Czarewitz* took aſide the moſt Serene Prince *Menzicoff*, the Baron *Peter Schäfirof*, *Peter Tolſtoy*, and *Ivan Buturlin*, and told them:

" That as for what remained, he had placed " his Confidence in thoſe Perſons who loved " the ancient Cuſtoms, that he knew them " by the Diſcourſes they kept with him, be- " cauſe they always commended the ancient " Cuſtoms, ſpeaking with Diſlike of the In- " novations which his Father introduced: " That he was confirmed in that Confidence " by the Prince *Baſili Dolgoruki*'s Diſcourſe, " when he ſaid to him: *Give your Father as* " *many Letters of Renunciation as he pleaſes*, " as is related in the *Czarewitz*'s firſt Con- " feſſion. That the ſame Prince *Dolgoruki*

" had

" had told him, *he had more Senſe than his*
"*Father, that, though his Father had a good*
" *deal of it, yet he did not know People of*
" *Senſe*, ſaying of the *Czarewitz*, *you will*
" *know them better.*

Was ſigned with the Czarewitz's Hand.

ALEXEI.

The Czarewitz Alexei Petrowitz *did further write with his own Hand, for a Supplement of what is above.*

" I Have declared in my foregoing Confeſ-
" ſions the reſt of my Diſcourſes. At pre-
" ſent I declare, that I grounded my Hopes
" on the Diſcourſes of many Perſons, and in
" particular on thoſe of my Confeſſor *James*,
" of *Nikifore Bazemskoi*, of the *Czarewitz* of
" *Siberia*, of *Dubroſski*, and of *Ivan Affonaſ-*
" *ſief*, who aſſured me I was beloved by the
" People; *James* the Confeſſor always told
" me, that People drank to the Health of *the*
" *Hopes of Ruſſia*. I always reckoned on the
" People, at all Times, and I reckoned on the
" Archbiſhop of *Reſan* ſince his Sermon, ſee-
" ing by it that he had an Inclination for me,
" though I never talked with him about any
" thing, except what I have confeſſed above.
" I talked of *Petersbourg*, being drunk, in
" this Senſe, that ſeeing a certain Perſon go-
" ing out of the Way ſo far as *Copenhagen*,
" the Place might well be loſt like *Azoff*. I
" do not remember the very Words I ſpoke.

The Czarewitz alſo told the Miniſters during this Examination:

" That

" That he had gathered for a long Time
" paſt, all the Diſcourſes made to him by Per-
" ſons who diſliked the Innovations intro-
" duced by the *Czar* his Father, and who
" blamed them, becauſe they were for the
" ancient Cuſtoms, and lived according to the
" old Way, and though he had no Correſ-
" pondence with them concerning his De-
" ſigns, nor diſcovered in them any Diſpoſi-
" tion to favour the ſame, yet he ſhewed an
" Inclination for them, by reaſon of their
" Diſcourſes on that Subject; and that in or-
" der to gain them over to his Intereſt, he
" had alſo feigned to love the ancient Pra-
" ctices, and that for this Reaſon he had
" reckoned upon thoſe People.

All theſe Pieces being read in the Preſence of the Miniſters, the Senate, and the States aſſembled, they ordered Search to be made in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, in the Conſtitutions of the Empire, and in the Military Regulations, for proper Authorities to be applied to the preſent Caſe, in order to judge what Puniſhment thoſe Tranſgreſſions had deſerved.

EXTRACTS

Out of the

OLD TESTAMENT.

Leviticas, Chap. XX.

" GOD ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying: Thou
" ſhalt ſay to the Children of Iſrael:
" Every one that curſeth his Father or his
" Mother,

" Mother, ſhall ſurely be put to Death; his
" Blood ſhall be upon him.

Deuteronomy, Chap. XXI.

" IF a Man have a ſtubborn and rebellious
" Son, which will not obey the Voice of
" his Father, or the Voice of his Mother,
" and that when they have chaſtened him,
" will not hearken unto them: Then ſhall
" his Father and his Mother lay hold on him,
" and bring him out unto the Elders of his
" City, and unto the Gate of his Place: And
" they ſhall ſay unto the Elders of his City,
" this our Son is ſtubborn and rebellious, he
" will not obey our Voice, he is a Glutton
" and a Drunkard. And all the Men of his
" City ſhall ſtone him with Stones, that he
" die: So ſhalt thou put Evil away from a-
" mong you, and all Iſrael ſhall hear and
" fear.

EXTRACTS out of the NEW TESTAMENT.

S. *Matthew*, Chap. XV. 1.

" THEN came to Jeſus Scribes and Pha-
" riſees, which were of Jeruſalem, ſay-
" ing, Why do thy Diſciples tranſgreſs the
" Tradition of the Elders? for they waſh not
" their Hands when they eat Bread. But he
" anſwered and ſaid unto them, Why do you
" alſo tranſgreſs the Commandment of God
" by your Tradition?

S. *Mark*,

S. *Mark*, Chap. VII. 9.

" JESUS ſaid unto the Phariſees and
" Scribes, Full well ye reject the Com-
" mandment of God, that ye may keep
" your own Tradition. For Moſes ſaid, Ho-
" nour thy Father and thy Mother: and,
" Whoſo curſeth Father or Mother, let him
" die the Death. But ye ſay, If a Man ſhall
" ſay to his Father or Mother, It is Corban,
" that is to ſay, a Gift, by whatſoever thou
" mighteſt be profited by me: he ſhall be
" free. And ye ſuffer him no more to do
" ought for his Father or his Mother.

Romans, Chap. I. 28.

" AND even as they did not like to re-
" tain God in their Knowledge, God
" gave them over to a reprobate Mind, to
" do thoſe things which are not convenient:
" Being filled with all Unrighteouſneſs, For-
" nication, Wickedneſs, Covetouſneſs, Mali-
" ciouſneſs; full of Envy, Murder, Debate,
" Deceit, Malignity; Whiſperers, Backbi-
" ters, Haters of God, deſpiteful, proud,
" Boaſters, Inventers of evil things, diſobe-
" dient to Parents, without Underſtanding,
" Covenant-Breakers, without natural Affe-
" ction, implacable, unmerciful: Who know-
" ing the Judgement of God, that they which
" commit ſuch things are worthy of Death,
" not only do the ſame, but have Pleaſure in
" them that do them.

Epheſians, Chap. VI. 1.

" CHildren, obey your Parents in the
" Lord: for this is right. Honour thy
" Father and Mother, (which is the firſt

" Command-

" Commandment with Promiſe) that it may " be well with thee, and thou mayeſt live " long on the Earth.

In the CONSTITUTIONS of *RUSSIA.*

Chap. I. *Statute* 1.

" IF any Perſon begins by ſome ill De- " ſign, to think againſt the Czar's Health, " or if he does any thing to his Prejudice, " and that it is truly found out, that he was " willing to execute his pernicious Deſigns, " he ſhall be puniſhed with Death, having " been convicted of it.

Statute 2.

" LIkewiſe if any Perſon during his Cza- " riſh Majeſty's Reign, out of Deſire to " reign in the *Muſcovite* Empire, and to put " the Czar to Death, ſhall begin to gather " Forces with this pernicious Deſign, or if " any Perſon contracts Friendſhip with his " Czariſh Majeſty's Enemies, or holds Cor- " reſpondence with them, or if he aſſiſts them " to poſſeſs themſelves of the Government by " his Aſſiſtance, or to commit ſome other " Diſorder; if any Perſon informs againſt him, " and that upon thoſe Informations it is found " true, ſuch a Traitor ſhall be puniſhed with " Death for ſuch a Treaſon if verified.

In His Czariſh Majeſty's MILITARY LAWS, *printed at* Petersbourg *in the Year* 1717.

Chap. 3. *Art.* 19.

" IF a Subject raiſes Men, or takes up Arms " againſt His Czariſh Majeſty, or if any " Perſon frames the Deſign of taking His Ma- " jeſty Priſoner, or to kill him, or if he of- " fers any Violence to him, he and all thoſe " who ſhall have aided him, or given him " Advice, ſhall be quartered as Criminals of " High-Treaſon, and their Eſtates confiſcat- " ed.

Explanation of this Article.

" LIkewiſe ſhall be puniſhed with the ſame " Sort of Death thoſe who, though " they were not able to put their Crime in " Execution, ſhall be convicted, that they " had the Will and Deſire of it, as well as " thoſe who did not diſcover it, having " Knowledge of it.

Chap. 16. *Art.* 27.

" HE that frames the Deſign of commit- " ting ſome Treaſon, or any thing like " it, though he does not put it in Execution, " yet he ſhall be puniſhed with the like capital " Puniſhments, as if he had executed his Deſign.

Thoſe Extracts out of the Divine, Civil and Military Laws being read and heard, it was by unanimous Conſent reſolved, that before Sentence was pronounced, each of the Miniſters and the Senate ſhould ſeparately call out the

the Judges appointed to compoſe that Tribunal, and every one of them, give their Opinion by Word of Mouth.

Accordingly the Miniſters ſeverally gave their Opinion, which, though ſeparately done, amounted unanimouſly and without any Contradiction to the ſame Judgement, they declaring upon Oath and upon their Conſcience, that according to the Laws Divine, Civil and Military, the *Czarewitz* had deſerved Death for the Crimes alledged and proved above.

Upon the *Czarewitz*'s Confeſſion aboveſaid, concerning *Pleyer*'s Letter, *Abraham Lopukin* was examined on the 19th of June, in Preſence of the Miniſters and the Senators. At firſt he denied all with great Oaths.

But being carried to the Torture-Room the ſame Day of June in the Afternoon, he confeſſed and declared as follows: That he did not deſire the Reſident *Pleyer* to come to his Houſe, neither did he go to that of the ſaid Reſident, but that they met accidentally the latter End of Autumn; that he did not remember the Year; that it was before his Czariſh Majeſty's Arrival, going from the *Port of the Trinity* towards Baron *Schaffirof*'s, That he, *Lopukin*, asked the Reſident: *Where is the Czarewitz at preſent? Is there any News concerning him?* That *Pleyer* anſwered him: *There is Advice that the Czarewitz is with us in His Imperial Majeſty's Dominions, and His Imperial Majeſty will not forſake him.* That he, *Lopukin*, ſaid to *Pleyer*: *They are in Pain here about the Czarewitz, and his going away may occaſion an Inſurrection in the Empire.* That

the Reſident thereupon told him: *And the Emperor will not forſake him in that Caſe.*

That he, *Lopukin*, ſaid thoſe Words to the Reſident in his own Way of Reaſoning, and according to his Inclination for the *Czarewitz*, as alſo conformably to what they had formerly diſcourſed with the *Land-Rath* of the Government of *Caſan*, whoſe Name was *Kanbar Akinfief*, when he was at *Petersbourg*, who being at his, *Lopukin*'s, Houſe, they had ſome Talk of the *Czarewitz* ſaying, that he was in the Emperor's Dominions: That they both ſaid, the *Czarewitz* had done well to take that Reſolution, and that the Emperor would not forſake him. That *Kanbar Akinfief* ſaid to him, *Lopukin: And at home in our Country yonder with us, it may well be that there happens ſome Diſorder on account of the Czarewitz's being fled, becauſe the People are very ſimple and ignorant.*

On the 21ſt of June *His Czariſh Majeſty* ſent Orders to the Senators by the Privy-Councellor *Peter Tolſtoy*, to appear in the great Hall; where being aſſembled, the ſaid Privy-Councellor delivered to them the following Conſiderations which the Eccleſiaſtical State had preſented to *His Czariſh Majeſty*, and which he had been pleaſed to ſend and communicate to them by him.

CONSIDERATIONS *of the* CLERGY.

REflecting on one ſide upon the great Crime committed by a Son, who, like *Abſalom*, roſe up againſt his Father; and on

the other, on the Perſon offended, who is a Father and a Sovereign, having an abſolute Power over his Son, we dare not touch an Affair of this Nature, becauſe of thoſe Conſiderations which we are ordered to obſerve in it, this Affair being purely of the Cognizance of the Civil Juriſdiction, and not at all of the Eccleſiaſtical: Beſides, that the abſolute Power eſtabliſhed in the Czariſh Empire, which is a Monarchy, is not liable to the Judgement of the Subjects, but the Sovereign there has the Authority to act according to his own Pleaſure, without the intermeddling of any of the Inferiors.

However, as we are ordered to ſearch, not indeed by way of Judgement, but only for Inſtruction ſake, for Examples and Statutes ſuiting with the Affair in queſtion;

Therefore in Conformity to the Monarch's Orders, We, the underwritten Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, now preſent in the Imperial Capital City of St. *Petersbourg*, have gathered from the Holy Scriptures what appeared to ſuit with this dreadful and unheard-of Affair.

" 1. NOAH's Son, who had mocked his " Father, was curſed for it, and con- " demned to be the Servant of Servants unto " his Brethren. *Gen.* 9.

" 2. God ſaid in his Commandments: Ho- " nour thy Father and thy Mother, that thy " Days may be long upon the Earth. *Exod.* " 20.

" Thou ſhalt not curſe the Ruler of thy " People. *Exod.* 22.

" 3. He that curſeth his Father or his Mo- " ther, ſhall be put to Death. *Exod.* 21. *Le-* " *vit.*

" *vit.* 20. And Jeſus Chriſt ſaid the ſame " thing. *Matth.* 15. and *Mark* 7.

" 4. If a Man have a ſtubborn and rebel- " lious Son, which will not obey the Voice " of his Father, or the Voice of his Mother, " and that when they have chaſtened him, " will not hearken unto them: Then ſhall " his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, " and bring him out unto the Elders of his " City and unto the Gate of his Place: And " they ſhall ſay unto the Elders of his City, " This our Son is ſtubborn and rebellious, he " will not obey our Voice; he is a Glutton " and a Drunkard. And all the Men of his " City ſhall ſtone him with Stones, that he " die: So ſhalt thou put Evil away from a- " among you, and all Iſrael ſhall hear and " fear. *Deuteronomy* 21.

" 5. The Eye that mocketh at his Father, " and deſpiſeth to obey his Mother, the Ra- " vens of the Valley ſhall pick it out. *Pro-* " *verbs* 30.

" 6. Honour thy Father and Mother both " in Word and Deed, that a Bleſſing may " come upon thee from them; for the Bleſ- " ſing of the Father eſtabliſheth the Houſes " of Children, but the Curſe of the Mother " rooteth out Foundations. *Eccleſiaſticus* 3.

" And lower: My Son, help thy Father " in his Age, and grieve him not as long as " he liveth.

" 7. The People of Iſrael being in the Ba- " bylonian Captivity, gathered Money and " ſent it to Jeruſalem to Joachim the High- " Prieſt, and to all the People; and they " ſent them Word: Behold, we have ſent " you Money to buy you Burnt-offerings

" and Sin-offerings, and Incenſe, and prepare
" you Meat-Offering, and offer upon the Al-
" tar of the Lord our God, and pray for the
" Life of Nebuchadonoſor King of Babylon,
" and for the Life of Balthaſar his Son, that
" their Days may be upon Earth as the Days
" of Heaven. *Baruch* 1.

" 8. Mordecai having over-heard the Plot
" of the King's Eunuchs, that guarded his
" Palace, who ſought to lay hand on the
" King Artaxerxes, and kill him, he certifi-
" ed the King of their Conſpiracy, the King
" cauſed them to be put upon the Rack, and
" when they had confeſſed it, he cauſed them
" to be hanged.

" 9. The Story of *Abſalom* is known from
" the ſecond Book of Kings, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Out of the NEW TESTAMENT.

" 1. JESUS Chriſt himſelf was ſubject to
" his Father Joſeph, and to his Mother.
" *Luke* 2. He alſo ordered Tribute to be paid
" to Cæſar. *Matth.* 22.

" 2. If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the
" Commandments: Thou ſhalt do no Mur-
" der: Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery:
" Thou ſhalt not ſteal: Thou ſhalt not bear
" falſe Witneſs: Honour thy Father and thy
" Mother: and thou ſhalt love thy Neigh-
" bour as thy ſelf. *Matth.* 19.

" 3. Whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother, *Ra-*
" *ca*, ſhall be in Danger of the Council,
" *Matth.* 5.

" 4. Give Honour to all Men to whom it
" is due. Love the Brotherhood: Fear God:
" Honour the King. Servants be ſubject to

" your Maſters with all Fear, not only to the " good and gentle, but alſo to the froward, " for this is acceptable to God. 1 *Pet.* 2.

" 5. Let every Soul be ſubject unto the " higher Powers. For there is no Power but " of God; the Powers that be, are ordained " of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth " the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; " and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to them- " ſelves Damnation. For Rulers are not a " Terror to good Works, but to the Evil. " Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? " Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt " have Praiſe of the ſame: For he is the Mi- " niſter of God to thee for good. But if " thou do that which is Evil, be afraid; for " he beareth not the Sword in vain. For he " is the Miniſter of God, a Revenger to exe- " cute Wrath upon him that does Evil. *Rom.* " 13.

" 6. Children, obey your Parents in the " Lord; for this is right. Honour thy Fa- " ther and Mother, which is the firſt Com- " mandment with Promiſe; that it may be " well with thee, and thou mayeſt live long " on the Earth. And ye Fathers, provoke " not your Children to Wrath, but bring them " up in the Nurture and Admonition of the " Lord. Servants, be obedient to them that are " your Maſters according to the Fleſh, with " Fear and Trembling, in Singleneſs of your " Heart as unto Jeſus Chriſt. Not with Eye- " ſervice, as Men-pleaſers, but as the Servants " of Chriſt, doing the Will of God from the " Heart; with good Will doing Service as " to the Lord, and not to Men. *Epheſi-* " *ans* vi.

" The

" The ſame Commandments are found in
" the *Epiſtle to the Coloſſians*, 3.
" 7. Put them in mind to be ſubject to Prin-
" cipalities and Powers, to obey Magiſtrates,
" to be ready to every good Work. *Titus* 3.

In the Provincial Council held at Gangres, *the fourth Canon ſays.*

" IF any Children leave their orthodox Fa-
" thers and Mothers, and run away, not
" giving due Reſpect to their Fathers and
" Mothers, imagining that they can do better,
" they ſhall be curſed.

The golden Mouth, St. Chryſoſtom, *ſays of the Propheteſs* Anne, Samuel's *Mother, in his firſt Sermon:*

" IT is not only for having begotten, that
" one is a Father; but for having well in-
" ſtructed: Nor is it only for having brought
" a Child into the World, that one is a Mo-
" ther; but for having well educated it. Pa-
" rents themſelves will own, that it is not
" Nature but Virtue that makes a Father.
" They often caſt off their Children, and ex-
" clude from their Families ſuch as they ſee
" to be of corrupted Morals, and who have
" degenerated into Wickedneſs, and they a-
" dopt others in their Room, who have not
" the leaſt Relation to them as to Parentage.
" Can there be any thing that deſerves more
" Admiration, than to ſee them expel thoſe
" they have brought into the World, and ap-
" propriate to themſelves by Adoption thoſe
" with whoſe Generation they had nothing
" to do?

"This we ſay not without Reaſon, but in "order to make you ſenſible, that the Force "of free Will is greater than that of Nature, "and that what makes a Father, is rather "the firſt than the latter.

"For this was the Work of Divine Pro-"vidence, that on one hand ſhe did not alto-"gether deſtroy the natural Affection for "Children, and that on the other ſhe did "not permit that Affection to go all lengths. "For if Parents ſhould love their Children, "without being actuated by the Neceſſity of "Nature, and if they were not prompted to "it but by the Conſideration of their good "Morals, and their good Actions, you would "ſee all Order among Mankind diſturbed and "overturned, by the caſting off of ſo many "Children, who would be turned out of "their Fathers Houſes on account of their "Slothfulneſs. On the other ſide, had di-"vine Providence left things wholly to the "Force of Nature, without permitting to "hate wicked Children, and had Fathers "been obliged, by a Neceſſity impoſed upon "them by the Law of Nature, never to "leave off doing good to thoſe who griev-"ouſly injured them, and who proceeded to "the utmoſt Exceſſes againſt them, Mankind "would have been brought to the Pitch of "Wickedneſs.

"If therefore at preſent, when Children "may not altogether truſt to Nature, and "when they know, that many have been "turned out of their Fathers Houſes, and "cut off from their Eſtates for their Per-"verſeneſs and Pravity, yet they cannot "be deterred from uſing their Parents

" ill, by reaſon of their truſting to their " Love; with what ſort of Wickedneſs " ſhould not they defile themſelves, if God " had not permitted to Parents to correct " them, and to revenge themſelves upon " them?

" It was for theſe Reaſons it pleaſed God, " that the Love of Parents ſhould be ground- " ed upon the Conduct of their Children, as " well as upon the Neceſſity of Nature, to " the end they might forgive them out of " natural Inclination, if they offended but " ſlightly, and puniſh thoſe who are perverſe " and incorrigible, that their Indulgence " might not lead them to Evil, if Nature " ſhould yet prevail, and oblige them to " Fondneſs after their being turned wicked.

" Behold and admire the Grandeur of Pro- " vidence, which commands to love, and yet " ſets Bounds to that Love.

We, Eccleſiaſticks, having made thoſe Extracts out of the Holy Scriptures by the Monarch's Orders, not in Form of a Sentence, nor to give a Decree, as is ſaid above; for this Affair is not of the Competency of our Juriſdiction: Who would eſtabliſh us Judges over thoſe that command us? How can the Members govern the Head? It is the Head which governs and makes the Members act. Beſides, our Juriſdiction being ſpiritual, it ought to be according to the Spirit, and not according to Fleſh and Blood. The Power of the Iron Sword was not given to the Church; but the Power of the Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God. Jeſus Chriſt himſelf forbad the Prince of the Apoſtles to make

uſe

uſe of the Sword, ſaying: *Put up thy Sword into his Place*, and he forbad the other Apoſtles to make the Fire from Heaven come down to reduce *Samaria* to Aſhes.

By theſe Examples Jeſus intended to teach, that it does not become Eccleſiaſticks to be guided by the Spirit of Wrath, but by the Spirit of Meekneſs, nor to condemn any one to Death, nor to ſeek Blood, but only true Penitence and the ſpiritual Death, which is being dead unto Sin and alive unto God, according to the Words of the Apoſtle, in his *Epiſtle to the Romans*, 6.

We ſubmit all this to the exalted Imperial Conſideration, with a due Obedience. May the Lord do what is agreeable in his Eyes. If he will puniſh him who is fallen, according to his Actions and the Meaſure of his Crimes, he has before him the Examples we have drawn from the Old Teſtament. If he will ſhew Mercy, he has the Example of *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, who receives the Son that was loſt, when he returned to Repentance; who leaves the Woman at Liberty that was taken in Adultery and had deſerved Death according to the Law; who prefers Mercy to Sacrifices, ſaying: *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*; and by the Mouth of his Apoſtle: *Mercy ſhall rejoyce againſt Judgement.* James ii. 13. He alſo has the Example of *David*, who is willing to ſpare his perſecuting Son *Abſalom*, for he ſaid to his Captains who went to give him Battel; *Spare my Son Abſalom*, 2 Sam. xviii. 5. And the Father himſelf was willing to ſpare him, though Divine Juſtice did not.

After

After having briefly ſet forth all this, the Czar's Heart is in the Hands of God: May he chuſe the Side to which the Hand of God ſhall turn him.

Theſe Conſiderations are ſigned hereafter with our own Hands, in the Year 1718, on the 18th of June.

The humble *Stephen*, Metropolitan of *Reſan*.

The humble *Feofan*, Biſhop of *Pſovski*.

The humble *Alexei*, Biſhop of *Sarski*.

The humble *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Soujedal*.

The humble *Varlaam*, Biſhop of *Tver*.

The humble *Aaron*, Biſhop of *Korele*.

The humble Metropolitan of *Stavropol*, *Yannikiy*.

The humble Metropolitan of *Fibaïdski*, *Arſeny*.

Theodor, Archimandrita of the Convent of the Trinity of *Alexandroner*.

Joachin, Archimandrita of the Convent of *Anthony*.

Joaniky, Archimandrita of the Convent of Reſurrection of *Derebanidski*.

The Archimandrita *Irinargg* of the Convent of *Kyrillus*.

The Father *Gabriel*, Prefect and Miſſionary of the Word of God.

The Father *Markel*, Profeſſor.

On the 24th of June, the Miniſters and Senators being aſſembled at the Chancery of the Senate, the Privy-Councellor *Peter Tolſtoy* laid before them the *Czarewitz*'s following Declaration confirming his Confeſſion of the 19th of June, as alſo the criminal Interrogatories

rogatories of his Confeſſor *James*, who had been degraded from the Eccleſiaſtical State.

On the 19th of June 1718, the *Czarewitz* anſwered upon his Interrogatory, that all that he had confeſſed and declared againſt thoſe whom he had charged in his preceding Confeſſions in the Preſence of the Senators, was true, and that he had omitted nothing, nor concealed any Perſon.

He further added that a good while ago, his Confeſſor the Arch-prieſt *James* being come to ſee him at St. *Petersbourg*, he the Czarewitz ſaid his Confeſſions to the ſaid *James*, and told him: *I wiſh for my Father's Death:* And that the Confeſſor anſwered him: *God forgive it you, we wiſh him the ſame.*

That being laſt at *Moskow*, and having been confeſſed by his other Confeſſor the Archimandrita *Barlam* of the Convent of *Danilo*, ſituate in the *Salez* of *Pereſclabe*, he ſaid in his Confeſſion, that he had not owned all to his Father in his Interrogatories, but that he had concealed a great many things, and that he wiſhed for his Death: Upon which *Barlam* anſwered: *God will forgive you, but you ought to tell the Truth to your Father.*

That after thoſe two ſeveral Confeſſions, he received the Holy Sacrament, by the permiſſion of his Confeſſors.

The ſame Day, the foreſaid Confeſſor *James*, now degraded, owned in the Torture, and on his Confrontation, that when he confeſſed the Czarewitz *Alexei*, he told him the Words aboveſaid, *that he wiſhed for his Father's Death*, whereupon the Confeſſor asked

asked him, *Do not you wiſh for your Father's Death?* And that the *Czarewitz* anſwered: *Yes, I do.*

That he the Confeſſor ſaid to the *Czarewitz, we alſo wiſh all for his Death*; but that he did not remember any more, who elſe wiſhed it to him.

That, becauſe the *Czarewitz* was beloved among the People, and that they drank his Health, calling him the *Hopes of the Ruſſians*, he, *James*, told the Czarewitz of it, as having heard it from many Perſons, but without remembring any more who they were.

The ſame Day the Sieur *Tolſtoy* purſuant to Order acquainted the Senate with what follows:

Interrogatory Articles, written with HIS CZARISH MAJESTY's *own Hand, and delivered to M. Privy-Councellor* Tolſtoy, *to examine the Czarewitz.*

GO to ſee my Son in the Afternoon. Interrogate him, and take down in writing what he ſhall tell you upon your Queſtions:

" 1. What is the Reaſon why he did not " obey me, and would do nothing of what " I deſired of him, nor apply himſelf to any " thing good, though he is not ignorant that " this is not the Practice of the World, be- " ſides that it is a Sin and a Shame?

" 2. Whence it came that he ſo little fear- " ed me, and did not apprehend the Conſe- " quences of his Diſobedience?

" 3. Why

" 3. Why he desired the Succession by o-
" ther Means than Obedience; as I have told
" him my self? And interrogate him upon
" all the rest that has any relation to this
" Affair.

Copy of the Czarewitz's own Hand-writing, in Answer to what is above.

" ON the 22d Day of June 1718. I make this Answer to the Articles upon
" which M. *Tolstoy* interrogated me.

" 1. Though I was not ignorant that it is
" not the Practice of the World to be diso-
" bedient as I was to my Father, and to be
" unwilling to do what pleased him, that this
" even is a Sin and a great Shame: Yet this
" proceeded from my living, when a Child,
" with a Governess and young Women, of
" whom I learned nothing but Amusements
" and to play in my Chamber, and to act the
" Bigot, to which I was naturally inclined.

" The Persons who were put about me
" after my Governess was taken from me,
" did not teach me to do better, among o-
" thers *Nikifore Basemskoi*, *Alexei Basili*, and
" the *Nariskins*.

" My Father taking care of my Educati-
" on, and being desirous that I should ap-
" ply my self to what might render me wor-
" thy of being the Czar's Son, ordered me
" to learn the High-Dutch Tongue and o-
" ther Sciences, to which I had a great deal
" of Aversion. I applied my self to them
" but with great Carelessness, only to pass a-
" way the time, nor had I ever any Inclina-
" tion for them.

" And

" And as my Father, who then was often " in the Army, was far off from me, he or- " dered the moſt Serene Prince *Menzikoff* to " have an Eye upon me. When I was with " him, I was obliged to apply my ſelf; but " when I was out of the Prince's ſight, the " ſaid *Nariskins* and *Baſemskoi*, ſeeing that my " Inclinations run ſolely upon Bigotry, Idle- " neſs, frequenting Prieſts and Monks and " drinking with them, not only did not " diſſuade me from it, but even took De- " light in doing as I did: As they were Per- " ſons who had been with me from my In- " fancy, I was uſed to do what they told me, " to fear them and to comply with them in " every thing; and they more and more alie- " nated me from my Father by diverting me " with ſuch ſort of Pleaſures, and by degrees I " came to abhor not only my Father's mili- " tary Affairs and his other Actions, but even " his very Perſon. This is what made me " wiſh always to be far off from him.

" When I was intruſted at *Moskow* with " the Government of the Empire, ſeeing my " ſelf at full Liberty and that I was my own " Maſter; far from conſidering that my Fa- " ther had put it into my Hands in order to " train me up to it, and to lead me to the " Succeſſion after him, if I rendered my ſelf " capable of it: I gave my ſelf ſtill more up " to my uſual Pleaſures among Prieſts and " Monks, and other People of that Stamp. " *Alexander Kikin* made it always his earneſt " Buſineſs when he was with me, to harden " me in thoſe Diſorders.

" My Father having Compaſſion for me, " and being deſirous of rendering me worthy

" of

" of that State to which I was called, ſent
" me into foreign Countries; but as I was
" already full grown and of a ſettled Age, I
" changed none of my Habits.

" It is true however that the Stay I made
" there has been uſeful to me in ſome things,
" but not enough, ſo as to eradicate the
" bad Habits which had taken ſo deep Root
" in me.

" 2. The bad Character of my wicked
" Mind was the Cauſe why I did not dread
" my Father's Corrections for my Diſobedi-
" ence: I freely own it: For though I truely
" feared him, yet it was not with a filial
" Awe, but ſuch an Apprehenſion as made
" me ſeek Means how to keep away from
" him, that I might not perform his Will.
" Of this I will give a plain Inſtance.

" On my Return to my Father, coming
" back from foreign Parts to St. *Petersbourg*,
" he received me very graciouſly. Among
" other things he asked me whether I had
" not forgotten what I had learned: I an-
" ſwered I had not. He ordered me to bring
" to him ſome Drawings of my own doing: As
" I had learnt nothing, I was afraid he might
" make me draw ſomething in his Preſence,
" and fell a thinking how to diſable my right
" Hand ſo far as to render it unfit for work-
" ing. I charged a Piſtol with a Ball, and
" taking it with the Left, I fired it againſt
" the Palm of the Right with a Deſign of
" ſhooting it through: The Ball miſſed the
" Hand, but the Powder burned it enough
" to make it ſore. The Ball flew into the
" Wall of my Cloſet where it may ſtill be
" ſeen. My Father obſerving that I was

" hurt

" hurt on the Hand, asked how it happened. " I put some Sham or other upon him, but " did not tell him the Truth. One may see " by this, that though I feared my Father, " it was not with a filial Awe.

" 3. As to my having desired the Succes- " sion by other Means than that of Obedi- " ence, all the World may easily guess the " Reason of it; for being once stept out of " the good Road, unwilling to imitate my " Father in any thing, I endeavoured to ob- " tain the Succession by any other Method " whatsoever than what was fair. I was " for having it by a foreign Assistance, and " if I had obtained it, and that the Emperor " had put in Execution what he had pro- " mised to me, *viz.* to procure the Crown " of *Russia* to me even by armed Force, I " would have stuck at nothing to lay hold of " the Succession. For instance, if the Em- " peror had demanded Russian Troops a- " gainst any of his Enemies whomsoever, or " large Sums of Money in Return for his " Service, I would have done whatever he " had desired, and I would also have made " great Presents to his Ministers and Gene- " rals. I would have maintained at my own " Expence the Auxiliary Forces he should " have given me to put me in Possession of " the Crown of *Russia*, and in short nothing " would have been too dear for me to satisfy " my own Will."

The Underwritten, being established by *His Czarish Majesty* and assembled in the Hall to give Judgment; after having heard all that has been said, read and reported, and

made mature Reflexion upon it, did by unanimous Conſent pronounce the following Sentence, and ordered it to be ſigned, and accordingly they put their own Signs manual to it with their own Hands.

On the 24th of June, 1718.

"BY Virtue of the expreſs Ordinance iſſued by *His Czariſh Majeſty*, and ſigned "with his own Hand on the 13th of June "laſt, for trying the Czarewitz *Alexei* "*Petrowitz*, for his Tranſgreſſions and "Crimes againſt his Father and his Lord, "the underwritten *Miniſters*, *Senators*, *States* "*Military and Civil*, after having been ſe"veral times aſſembled in the Chamber of "the Regency of the Senate at St. *Peterſ*"*bourg*, having more than once heard read "the Originals and Extracts of Evidences "given againſt him, as alſo *His Czariſh Ma*"*jeſty's* Letters of Exhortation to the *Czare*"*witz*, and his Anſwers to them written "with his own Hand, and the other Pro"ceedings relating to that Tryal; as alſo the "*Czarewitz*'s criminal Examinations, Con"feſſions and Declarations which he either "wrote with his own Hand, or made by "Word of Mouth to his Lord and his Fa"ther, and in Preſence of the underwritten "Perſons, eſtabliſhed by *his Czariſh Majeſty's* "Authority for this preſent Tryal: They "have declared and owned, that though ac"cording to the Laws of the Ruſſian Em"pire, it never belonged to them, who are "natural Subjects of *his Czariſh Majeſty's* So"vereign Domination, to take Cognizance of

"Affairs

" Affairs of this nature, which according to
" their Importance, ſolely depend on the ab-
" ſolute Will of the Sovereign, whoſe Power
" depends but on God alone, and is not li-
" mited by any Law: Yet ſubmitting them-
" ſelves to *his Czariſh Majeſty* their So-
" vereign's Ordinance aforeſaid, who gives
" them that Liberty, after mature Reflexion
" and in Chriſtian Conſcience, without Fear,
" or Flattery, and without Regard to the
" Perſon, having nothing before their Eyes
" but the Divine Laws ſuiting with the pre-
" ſent Caſe, both of the Old Teſtament and
" the New, the holy Writings of the Goſ-
" pel and of the Apoſtles, as alſo the Canons
" and Rules of the Councils, the Authority
" of the holy Fathers and Doctors of the
" Church; taking alſo Inſtruction from the
" Conſiderations of the Archbiſhops and the
" Clergy aſſembled at St. *Petersbourg* by his
" Czariſh Majeſty's Order, as above tran-
" ſcribed, and conforming themſelves to the
" Laws of all *Ruſſia*, eſpecially the Conſtitu-
" tions of this Empire, to the Military Laws
" and Statutes, which are conformable to the
" Laws of many other Governments, and chief-
" ly to thoſe of the ancient Roman and Gre-
" cian Emperors, and of other Chriſtian
" Princes: The Underwritten having put it
" to the Vote, did unanimouſly, without
" Contradiction, agree and pronounce, *That*
" *the Czarewitz Alexei Petrowitz deſerves*
" *Death* for his Crimes aforeſaid, and for his
" capital Tranſgreſſions againſt his Sovereign
" and his Father, being *his Czariſh Majeſty's*
" Son and Subject; ſo that, though his Cza-
" riſh Majeſty did promiſe to the *Czarewitz*,

" by the Letter he ſent to him by M. Privy-
" Councellor *Tolſtoy*, and the Captain of the
" Guard *Rumanzoff*, dated *Spa* the 10th of
" July, 1717, to pardon him his Evaſion if he
" returned of his own accord and willingly,
" as the *Czarewitz* himſelf has owned with
" Thanks in his Anſwer to that Letter, writ-
" ten from *Naples* on the 4th of *October*,
" 1717. ſaying therein that he thanks *his*
" *Czariſh Majeſty* for the Pardon that had
" been given to him only for his voluntary
" Evaſion; yet he has ſince made himſelf
" unworthy of it by oppoſing his Father's
" Will and by his other Tranſgreſſions, which
" he renewed and continued, as is amply ſet
" forth in the Manifeſto publiſhed by *his*
" *Czariſh Maieſty* on the 3d of *February* of
" the preſent Year, and becauſe among o-
" ther things he did not return of his own
" accord.

" And though *his Czariſh Majeſty* upon the
" *Czarewitz's* arrival at *Moskow* with the
" Paper of Confeſſion containing his Crimes,
" wherein he asked Pardon for them, had
" Commiſeration of him, as is natural for a
" Father to have for his Son, and that in the
" Audience he gave him in the Hall of the Ca-
" ſtle on the ſaid 3d Day of February, he pro-
" miſed him a Pardon of all his Tranſgreſſions;
" Yet *his Czariſh Majeſty* made him that Pro-
" miſe ſolely upon this expreſs Condition
" which he explained in the preſence of all,
" *viz.* that the *Czarewitz* ſhould declare with-
" out any Reſtriction or Reſerve, all that he
" had committed and plotted againſt *his Cza-*
" *riſh Majeſty* till that Day, and that he ſhould
" diſcover all the Perſons who adviſed him,

" his

" his Accomplices, and in general all thoſe " who knew any Thing of his Deſigns and " Intrigues; but if he concealed any Perſon " or any thing, the Pardon promiſed ſhould " be void and remain revoked, which the " *Czarewitz* then agreed to and accepted, at " leaſt in outward Appearance, with Tears " of Thankfulneſs, and promiſed upon Oath " to declare all, without reſerve. In Con- " firmation of which he kiſſed the Holy " Croſs and the Holy Scriptures in the Ca- " thedral Church.

" *His Czariſh Majeſty* alſo confirmed the " ſame to him with his own Hand the next " Day, in the Interrogatory Articles inſerted " above, which he cauſed to be given to " him, having written at the Top as fol- " lows:

" *As you received Yeſterday your Pardon on* " *condition of declaring all the Circumſtances of* " *your Evaſion and all that has any relation to* " *it: But that if you concealed any thing, you* " *ſhould forfeit your Life; and as you have al-* " *ready by Word of Mouth made ſome Decla-* " *rations, you ought for a more ample Satiſ-* " *faction, and for your own Diſcharge, ſet them* " *down in writing, according to the Points ſet* " *forth hereafter.*

" And in the Concluſion there was further " written with *His Czariſh Majeſty's* own " Hand in the ſeventh Article:

" *Declare all that has any relation to this* " *Affair, even though it be not ſpecified here,* " *and clear your ſelf as at the Holy Confeſſion:* " *But if you hide or conceal any thing that is* " *afterwards diſcovered, do not impute any* " *thing to me; for it was Yeſterday declared to*

" *you before every body, that in this Caſe, the* " *Pardon you have received, ſhall be revoked* " *and void.*

" Notwithſtanding this, the *Czarewitz* in " his Anſwers and Confeſſions, ſpoke with- " out any Sincerity; he concealed and hid " not only many Perſons, but alſo capital " Affairs and his Tranſgreſſions, and in par- " ticular his rebellious Deſigns againſt his " Father and his Lord, and his wicked Pra- " ctices which he had contrived and carried " on for a long time, to attempt the Uſur- " pation of his Father's Throne, even in his " Life-time, by divers wicked Means, and " under wicked Pretexts, grounding his Hopes " and Wiſhes for the Death of his Father " and his Lord, on the Populace's declaring " in his Favour, with which he flattered " himſelf.

" All this was diſcovered afterwards by " the criminal Examinations, after he had " refuſed to declare it himſelf, as appeared " above.

" And ſo, it is evident from the whole " Conduct of the *Czarewitz*, and from the " Declarations which he made in Writing and " by Word of Mouth, and laſt of all from that " of the 22d of June of the preſent Year, " that it was not his Intention the Succeſ- " ſion to the Crown ſhould come to him af- " ter his Father's Death, in the manner his " Father would have left it to him, accord- " ing to the Order of Equity and by the " Ways and Means which God preſcribed: " But that he deſired it, and had the Deſign " of getting it, even in the Life-time of his " Father and his Lord, againſt *his Czariſh*

" *Majeſty's* Will, and by oppoſing his Fa-
" ther's Intentions in every thing, and not
" only by Inſurrections of Rebels which he
" hoped for, but alſo by the Emperor's As-
" ſiſtance and with a foreign Army which
" he flattered himſelf to have at his Diſpoſal,
" ſhould even the Government have been in
" danger of being overturned, and all have
" been alienated from the State, that might
" have been demanded of him for that As-
" ſiſtance.

" Theſe Premiſes therefore evidently ſhew,
" that the *Czarewitz*, in hiding all thoſe per-
" nicious Deſigns, and concealing many Per-
" ſons who were of Intelligence with him,
" as he did till the laſt Examination, and till
" he was fully convicted of all his Machi-
" nations, had a View to keep in Reſerve
" certain Means for reſuming his Deſigns af-
" terwards when a favourable Occaſion ſhould
" offer, and to carry on the Execution of
" this horrid Attempt againſt his Father and
" his Lord, and this whole Empire.

" He thereby rendered himſelf unworthy
" of the Clemency and of the Pardon that
" was promiſed to him by his Lord and his
" Father, which he alſo owned himſelf, as
" well before *His Czariſh Majeſty*, as in the
" Preſence of all the States, Eccleſiaſtical and
" Secular, and publickly before the whole As-
" ſembly, and he alſo declared by Word of
" Mouth and in Writing before the under-
" written Judges, eſtabliſhed by *His Czariſh*
" *Majeſty*, that all that is above, is true and
" manifeſt by the Effects that have appeared
" of it.

" Now, ſeeing the foreſaid Laws, Divine " and Eccleſiaſtical, Civil and Military, and " eſpecially the two latter, condemn to " Death without Mercy, not only thoſe " whoſe Attempts againſt their Father and " Lord have been manifeſted by Evidences, " or proved by Writings, but even thoſe " whoſe Attempts have only been in the In- " tention of rebelling, or who have ſimply " framed Deſigns of killing the Sovereign, " or to uſurp the Empire: Therefore ſuch a " Deſign of Rebellion, the like of which " was hardly ever heard of in the World, " joined to that of an horrid double Parri- " cide againſt his Sovereign, firſt as Father " of the Country, and next as his Father by " Nature, (a moſt clement Father who cauſed " the *Czarewitz* to be educated from the " Cradle with more than paternal Care, with " a Tenderneſs and a Goodneſs that appeared " on all Occaſions, who endeavoured to train " him up to the Government, and to inſtruct " him in the Art of War with incredible " Pains and indefatigable Application, in or- " der to render him capable and worthy of " the Succeſſion to ſo great an Empire,) how " much more has ſuch a Deſign deſerved to " be puniſhed with Death?

" It is with afflicted Hearts and Eyes full " of Tears, that we, being Servants and Sub- " jects, pronounce this Sentence, conſider- " ing it does not belong to us in this Quality " to enter upon a Judgment of ſo great Impor- " tance, and particularly to pronounce a Sen- " tence againſt the Son of the moſt Sovereign " and moſt Clement Czar our Lord. However it " being his Will we ſhall judge; We by this

" preſent

" preſent declare our true Opinion, and we " pronounce this Condemnation with a Con- " ſcience as pure and as Chriſtian, as we be- " lieve to be able to anſwer it before the " dreadful, juſt, and impartial Judgment of " the Great God.

" Submitting, as for the reſt, this Sentence " which we give, and this Condemnation " which we paſs, to the Sovereign Power, " Will, and clement Reviſion of *His Cza-* " *riſh Majeſty*, our moſt clement Mo- " narch.

At the Bottom of the Sentence had ſigned with their own Hands,

Alexander Menzbicoff.
General Admiral, Count *Apraxin.*
Chancellor, Count *Gabriel Golofkin.*
Privy-Councellor, Prince *James Dolgoruki.*
Privy-Councellor, Count *John Muſſin Puſchkin.*
Privy-Councellor, *Tichon Streſchneff.*
Senator, Count *Peter Apraxin.*
Vice-Chancellor and Privy-Councellor, Baron *Peter Schafiroff.*
Privy-Councellor and Captain of the Guards, *Peter Tolſtoy.*
Senator, Prince *Dimitry Galizin.*
General, *Adam Weide.*
Lieutenant-General, *John Buturlin.*
Privy-Councellor, Count *Andrew Matweoff.*
Senator, Prince *Peter Galizin.*
Senator, *Michael Samarin.*
Major-General, *Gregory Czerniſchoff.*
Major-General, *John Golowin.*
Major-General, Prince *Peter Galizin.*
Chamberlain, Prince *John Romadonoffsky.*

Boyarin,

Boyarin, *Alexei Soltikoff.*
Governor of *Siberia*, Prince *Matthew Gagarin.*
Boyarin, *Peter Buturlin.*
The Governor of *Moskow*, *Kirilo Nariſkin.*
Brigadier and Major of the Guards, *Michael Wolkoff.*
Major of the Guards of the Regiment of *Preobrachensky.*
Major, Prince *Gregory Yuſupoff.*
Major-General and Captain of the Guards, *Raül Jaguſinsky.*
Major of the Guards, *Simeon Soltikoff.*
Major of the Guards, *Dimitriof Mamonoff.*
Major of the Guards of *Preobrachensky*, *Baſili Karzmin.*
Brigadier and Reviſor-General, *Baſili Zatoff.*
Colonel *Garaſim Kaſchéleff.*
Gentleman of the Bedchamber, *Theodor Buturlin.*
Colonel, *Gabriel Noroff.*
Okolnizy, Prince *Gurgen Schzerbaty.*
Vice-Governor of St. *Petersbourg*, *Stepan Klokozoff.*
Major of the Life-Guards, *Uſchakoff.*
Captain Lieutenant of Bombardeers, *Skornyakoff Piſareff.*
Captain of the Life-Guards, Prince *Boris Czirkoff.*
Vice-Governor of *Archangel*, *Peter Lodichensky.*
Colonel *John Strekaloff.*
Vice-Governor of *Azoff*, *Stepan Kolitcheff.*
Captain of the Guards, *Petroff Solowowa.*
Captain of the Guards, *Alexander Rumyanzoff.*

Captain

Captain of the Guards, *Simeon Theodoroff.*
Maſter-General of the Police, and His Czariſh Majeſty's Adjutant-General, *Anthony Dewyer.*
Captain of the Guards, *Leff Iſmailoff.*
Captain of the Guards, Prince *John Chachoffsky.*
Captain of the Guards, *Welljaminoff Zernoff.*
Colonel *Peter Saweloff.*
Captain of the Guards, *John Lighareff.*
Captain of the Guards, *Zacharoff.*
Captain of the Guards, *Alexei Baskakoff.*
..... *Dimitry Beſtucheff Riumin.*
Colonel, Prince *Baſily Wiazemsky.*
Lieutenant of the Fleet, *John Scheremetoff.*
Prince *Sergei Boriſoff Golizin.*
..... Prince *Simeon Sonzoff Zaſekin.*
Captain of the Guards, Prince *Gregory Uruſſoff.*
..... Prince *Alexei Czerkasky.*
..... *Matthew Golowin.*
Colonel *Dolgoruki.*
..... *Leonty Michailoff Gleboff.*
Colonel, Prince *John Borjatinsky.*
..... *Boris Neronoff.*
Stepan Neledinsky Melezkoi.
Lieutenant of the Fleet, *Baſily Scheremetoff.*
..... *Baſily Rzeffsky.*
Colonel and Captain of the Life-Guards, *Konchin.*
Captain-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Alexander Lukin.*
Under-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Stepan Saffonoff.*
Lieutenant of the Guards, *Frederick Polenskoi.*
Adjutant, *Michael Czebiſchof.*

Captain

Captain-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Drumont.*
Golizinischof Kutuſoff.
Lieutenant-Colonel, *Bucholtz.*
Captain of the Guards, *Frederick Matvoffanoff.*
Captain of the Guards, *John Karpoff.*
Lieutenant-Colonel of the Infantry, *Stepan Kaſadawleff.*
Colonel *John Koltoffskoi.*
Colonel and Commander of St. *Petersbourg*, and Captain of the Life-Guards, *James Bachmetoff.*
Colonel *Elias Lutkowskoi.*
Colonel, Prince *Michael Schzerbatui.*
Colonel *Artemy Zagyaskoi.*
Lieutenant of the Guards, *John Koſloff.*
Lieutenant of the Guards, *John Bachmeteff.*
Captain of the Guards, *Alexei Panin.*
Captain the Guards, *Baſily Poroſukoff.*
Lieutenant of the Guards, *Frederick Wolkoff.*
Lieutenant of the Guards, *Abraham Shamordin.*
Adjutant-General, *John Polyanskoy.*
Enſign of the Guards, *John Wereſſkin.*
Under-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Alexander Taneoff.*
Under-Lieutenant of the Guards and Bombardeers, *Baſily Juſkoff.*
Captain-Lieutenant of the Life-Guards, *Peſchkoff Yeger.*
Firſt Commiſſary, *Alexei Libin.*
Judge of Pomeſny Prikaſe, *Kirill Cziczerin.*
Quarter-Maſter-General and firſt Commiſſary of War, *Michael Argamakoff.*

Lieutenant-

Lieutenant-Captain of the Guards, *Alexei Bibikoff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel *Baſily Titoff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel *Gabriel Koſloff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel of the Place, *Kiſeleff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel *Michael Anizkoff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel *Naum Czoglokoff.*

Lieutenant-Colonel *Baſily Baturin.*

Major *Nikita Skulskoy.*

Major of a Battalion of the Admiralty, *Kirill Puſchzin.*

Prince *Frederick Golizin.*

Prince *James Golizin.*

Under-Lieutenant of the Bombardeers, *Nowokſchzenoff.*

Under-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Baſily Iwanoff*; he alſo ſigned for an Under-Lieutenant of the ſame Regiment, *Baſily Koroſteleff*, who could not write.

Firſt Commiſſary of War, *Baſily Nowoſilzoff.*

Firſt Commiſſary of War, Prince *Michael Iwanoff Wadbalskoi.*

Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Prince *Aſfonaſy Borjatinskoi.*

Gentleman of the Bedchamber, *Andrew Koliczoff.*

Enſign of the Life-Guards, *Doroffei Iwaſchkin.*

Under-Lieutenant of the Guards, *Michael Kruchtzchoff:* He alſo ſigned for an Enſign *Affanaſſy Wladizin.*

Under-Lieutenant of the Guards, Prince *Alexei Schechoffskoi:* He alſo ſigned for the Captain-Lieutenant *Deweſiloff.*

Firſt Secretary, *Aniſm Schezukin.*

Diak

Diak *John Molczanoff.*
Diak *Simeon Iwanoff.*
Captain of the Guards, *Emelian Mawrin.*
The Judge of Rosprawnaja Palata, *Afonasei Andreoff.*
Kusmin Karavayeff.
Vice-Governor of *Moskow*, *Basily Jerschoff.*

A

DEDUCTION

OF THE

DIFFERENCES

Depending between

SWEDEN and *RUSSIA*;

Drawn up in *Latin* by

A SWEDISH Officer in *Siberia*.

AND THE

REASONS

For which the

CZAR made War againſt

SWEDEN,

Drawn up by

A RUSSIAN Miniſter of State,

On Occaſion of the above DEDUCTION.

A BRIEF DEDUCTION OF THE DIFFERENC[E] Depending between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*.

THESE Differences [illegible] late to form Parts of *Ingria* [illegible] *Carelia*, of which the [illegible] from what Title the Property [illegible] rued; consequently no mention [illegible] of *Stolbova* [illegible] which the *Ruſſians* cannot [illegible] the leaſt Colour of Juſtice. In order [illegible] ſure to ſet the Natural [illegible] tions on the Provinces [illegible] clear Light, we will [illegible] with [illegible] of Titles [illegible]

A BRIEF

DEDUCTION

OF THE

DIFFERENCES

Depending between

Sweden and *Ruſſia.*

THESE Differences chiefly relate to ſome Parts of *Ingria* and *Carelia*, it being the Queſtion, from what Title the Property of thoſe Countries ought to be derived; conſequently no mention will be made here of *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, and *Finland*, to which the Ruſſians cannot lay Claim with the leaſt Colour of Juſtice. In order therefore to ſet the Nature of the mutual Pretenſions on the Provinces firſt mentioned, in a clear Light, it will be neceſſary to proceed with Order, according to the ſeveral Periods of Time.

Though the ancient Times before and about the Nativity of our Saviour, are involved in Obſcurity, and that the Hiſtory of them is not recorded with ſufficient Circumſtances, yet it can be made out by ancient and credible Writings, that in thoſe remote Ages the Countries in Queſtion, and a Tract of Land extending further into *Ruſſia*, as alſo *Pruſſia*, *Courland*, *Livonia*, and *Eſthonia*, were tributary to, and dependent on *Sweden*; that there were Kings of *Sweden* whoſe Sons reigned in *Ruſſia*, great Part of which was thereby made ſubject to the *Swediſh* Princes, who when they fell out among themſelves, and even with *Sweden* it ſelf, made uſe of *Ruſſians* and other Nations in their Wars: Some Swarms alſo of *Swedes* and *Goths* penetrated with their victorious Arms through this large Country as far as *Azoff*, where they ſettled and remained for a long Time, on which occaſion the *Ruſſians* were kept under Subjection by the mutual Aſſiſtance the *Gothick* Princes on the *Baltick*, and thoſe on the *Black Sea*, lent each other. All which ſufficiently argues, that the *Ruſſians* in thoſe Ages were not Maſters of the Provinces now in Diſpute.

Some Centuries after the Birth of our Saviour, the Power of the *Swedes* and *Goths* in the Eaſt by degrees declined, great Numbers of them leaving their Settlements on the *Black Sea*, and marching through the neighbouring Countries into *Italy*; but the *Goths* on the *Baltick* were engaged in Wars with *Sweden*, and often united with the *Danes*, who thereby got an Opportunity of making Attempts on the Coaſt of *Livonia*, on which Account

the *Goths* fell out with them. Besides, the intestine Troubles in *Sweden* about the Succession to the Crown made them neglect their Interests in remoter Countries. It is indeed related in History, that the Kings of *Sweden* made use of *Russians*, *Courlanders*, and *Lettonians*, in their Wars with *Denmark*; as also, that the *Swedish* Princes in the East were assisted by the same Nations, according to the Situation of Affairs, against *Sweden*; but if one considers the Circumstances, the *Russians* ought to be looked upon as Subjects, and by no means as Masters in these Parts, the rather because the *Swedish* Princes at that Time were still in the constant Possession of their Settlements on this Side the *Baltick*, and their Government was for a long time known in the ancient Language of the Country by the Name of *Holm Gorda Ryke*, extending it self over all *Esthonia*, *Ingria*, and *Carelia*, and further still into *Russia*, so that those Countries were then subject solely to *Sweden*.

The most ancient History of *Russia* commonly begins with the three Brothers and Princes, *Sinaus*, *Ruric*, and *Truvor*, who, about the Year 840, were called from a neighbouring Country to govern *Russia*, the People who till then had been without a Head, seeing that the Neglect of the Laws had opened a Door to all sorts of Disorders and Enormities, to prevent which they resolved to have a regular Government. There are many Arguments for believing that the said three Brothers were descended from the abovementioned *Swedish* Princes in the *Holm-Gorda-Ryke*. *Ruric* out-lived the other two, and *Russia* was afterwards under his Posterity

divided into ſeveral Principalities; ſome of the Poſſeſſors whereof grew powerful, particularly the Princes of *Kiow*, who were ſet upon making Conqueſts in the neighbouring Territories of the *Polanders*, *Tartars*, *Bulgarians*, and the *Grecian* Emperors. But their Force being afterwards again weakened by the Diviſion of their Dominions into many petty Principalities, they were ſubdued by others, chiefly by the *Polanders*, till at length the *Tartarian* King *Battus* made the whole Country tributary to him, in the Year 1236, under which *Tartarian* Yoke the *Ruſſians* continued for about 241 Years, till *Ivan Waſilowitz*, the Son of *Baſilius the Blind*, ſhook it off again, which happened in the Year 1477. In this Epocha, *viz.* from the Beginning of the *Ruſſian* Hiſtory till the Expulſion of the *Tartars*, the following Obſervations ought to be taken notice of.

I. That the *Ruſſians* choſe for their Governors Princes of *Swediſh* Deſcent, and that conſequently they could not acquire the Dominion over Provinces which had before belonged to *Sweden*.

II. That *Ruſſia* being divided among many Princes, it is not probable that he who governed at *Moskow*, ſhould have commanded over the others, eſpecially thoſe who were moſt remote.

III. That the Principality of *Novogrod* was ſeparate and diſtinct from the reſt, never tributary to any of them, nor even to the *Tartars*. The Princes who reigned there, being of a *Swediſh* Original, for a long time maintained a good Correſpondence with *Sweden*, and in the Year 1030, *Jaroſlaus* of *Novogrod* married

married *Ingrid* a *Swediſh* Princeſs, the Daughter of *Olaus* King of *Sweden*. But in Proceſs of Time they were tempted by an unjuſt Deſire of taking Advantage of the inteſtine Troubles in *Sweden*, and attacking their Frontiers, being encouraged ſometimes by one of the contending Parties, ſometimes by the *Danes*, notwithſtanding which they never obtained an Independency with relation to the Countries in queſtion.

IV. On the contrary the *Swedes*, whenever Tranquillity was reſtored at home, turned their Thoughts towards maintaining their Right on this ſide of the *Baltick*, but new inteſtine Diſcords and Tumults ariſing between the Deſcendants of *Swercher* and *Ericus* IX. who were to ſucceed alternately to the Crown, prevented the *Swediſh* Nation from effectually aſſerting their Pretenſions on the Eaſtern Coaſt of the *Baltick*, and furniſhed the *Danes* with an Opportunity of joyning Intereſt with the *Ruſſians* againſt the *Swedes*, who, notwithſtanding, conſtantly preſerved the Claim of their Right. It was with this Intent, that during the Reign of King *Birger*, the Marſhal *Torakel Knutſon*, not only took care to fortify *Wybourg* the Frontier Town of *Finland*, which from ancient Times had been ſo far from being under the Obedience of the *Ruſſians*, that it even was never attacked by them. Beſides, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Kexholm*, and built a Fortreſs on the River *Neva*, in order (as is related in ancient Hiſtory) to check the Excurſions made by the *Ruſſians* over the ancient Frontiers of *Sweden*. This Fort at firſt was called *Lands-crona*, afterwards *Nötebourg*, and very lately *Schlüſſelbourg*.

V. Though this was not ſufficient to put a Stop to the *Ruſſian* Invaſions, the domeſtick Broils ſtill continuing in *Sweden*, yet the *Ruſſians* never acquired the leaſt Title to any of thoſe Places by a ſolemn Treaty. For what King *Magnus Smeek* did in the Year 1348, was null in it ſelf: He had engaged in a War without the Conſent of the States, and with the View of imbroiling the Affairs of the Kingdom, which Deſigns ſufficiently appeared by the Intelligence he held with the Enemies of the Nation, and by his cutting off the chief Nobility. Having been excommunicated by the Pope for ſeizing on the Treaſure of the Church, he began to think of retrieving his decaying Affairs by foreign Alliances and Subſidies, and reſolved to ſell the Provinces ſituate on this Side to *George*, Prince of *Novogrod*: But he was circumvented, and the *Ruſſians* took that Opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of ſeveral Places without paying any thing. Upon this he entered into a ſhameful Agreement with them, which the *Swedes* not only never conſented to, but even at length depoſed him on account of his Male-Adminiſtration, by which Act all his Negotiations and Treaties were made void.

VI. Notwithſtanding all the Calamities which ſo ſeverely afflicted *Sweden*, they did not neglect to aſſert and preſerve their Right on ſeveral Occaſions. I ſhall mention among others, that when *Chriſtopher* King of *Denmark* was elected to be the common King of *Sweden* and *Norway* alſo, it was expreſly ſtipulated, that whatever ſhould be recover'd on the Side of *Ruſſia*, at the Expence of the three united Kingdoms, ſhould accrue to *Swe-*

den

den only; a thing to which the *Danes* would not have conſented, had they not been convinced of the juſt Cauſe of the *Swedes*, and that they had neither given up nor deſerted their Right.

We come next to another Epocha, containing the Tranſactions ſince *Ruſſia* was freed from the Tartarian Yoke, till the Reign of the Czar *Michael Fedrowitz*. During thoſe Times there were almoſt continual Wars between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, about the Poſſeſſion of the Countries now in Diſpute, in which the *Swedes* maintained themſelves againſt the Attempts and Incroachments of the *Ruſſians*. Theſe Contentions laſted 140 Years, during which time not only ſeveral Truces were made between the contending Parties, but even Alliances, which however were ſoon again broke. But when *Ivan Waſſilowitz* the younger, and his Son *Feodor*, had not only driven out the *Tartars*, but even conquered of them their Kingdoms of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, they conceived Thoughts of ſubduing *Livonia*, and getting a footing on the *Baltick*, and the Coaſts of the Gulph of *Finland*, for which Deſigns *Ivan* ſeemed to have made way by taking *Twer* from his Father-in-Law, and poſſeſſing himſelf of *Novogrod* by Surprize, under the Pretext of compoſing the Differences that had divided the Inhabitants. And though the Great Maſters of the *Teutonick* Order, on one ſide, made a noble Stand againſt the Deſigns of the *Ruſſians*, and that on the other ſide the Irruptions of the *Tartars* proved powerful Diverſions to the *Ruſſians* in their Attempts againſt the *Swediſh* Territories, yet as the Union with *Denmark*,

and the inteſtine Wars with their *Daniſh* Kings, had reduced the *Swediſh* Nation very low, they were in no Condition to hinder the *Ruſſians* from penetrating into *Ingria*, ſeizing on *Jama* and *Coporia*, and building *Ivanogrod*. Yet whenever they had retrieved their publick Affairs, they never failed to endeavour to diſlodge the *Ruſſians* again. The foreſaid Places were ſometimes taken, ſometimes loſt again between the two Parties, according as the Chance of War fell out. The Truces that were made, proved rather the Seed of freſh Contentions, than the Foundation of a laſting Peace. Beſides, *Denmark* carried the War into the Heart of *Sweden*, and at the ſame Time prevailed with *Ruſſia* to come to a Rupture with *Sweden*. The Wars with *Denmark* were hardly brought to a Concluſion, when a new War aroſe with *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*. That Prince being of the Royal Family of *Sweden*, was, after the Death of King *John* his Father, declared Succeſſor to the Crown, but by breaking his Coronation-Oath, and acting againſt the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, he forfeited his Crown. His Deſign was to introduce Popery in *Sweden*, and to make that Kingdom a Dependency of *Poland*. He had the like Views with reſpect to *Ruſſia*, and with this Intent he animated both thoſe Nations againſt each other, in Hopes that when they had exhauſted their Forces, it would be the eaſier for him to bring them both under his Yoke. The dark Intrigues with the counterfeit *Demetrius*, were calculated for this purpoſe, and carried on for a long Time. *Griſka* who perſonated that Prince, having by a formal Con-

federacy

deracy engaged to eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion in *Ruſſia*, and to acknowledge himſelf a Vaſſal of *Poland*. The principal Men among the *Ruſſians*, who were in the Intereſt of *Demetrius*, being bribed with Poliſh Money, were at laſt ſo far prevailed on as to elect *Sigiſmund*'s own Son for their Czar. In the mean time the *Swedes*, under the Conduct of their valiant King *Charles* IX. had freed themſelves from the Oppreſſions of the *Poles*, and as they eaſily ſaw through *Sigiſmund*'s dangerous Deſigns, they employed all imaginable Means, though with great Circumſpection, to defeat them. The *Ruſſians* themſelves being at length made ſenſible what was the Driſt of the *Poliſh* Councils, began to adviſe with *Sweden*, how to prevent the Danger with which both Nations were equally threatned. The Czar *Zuiski*, who better perceived than any of the reſt, that the Intrigues carried on by *Poland*, had brought his own Affairs, as well as thoſe of the whole Nation, to the Brink of Ruin, applied to *Sweden* for Aſſiſtance, on Condition of delivering up *Kexholm* to them, and maintaining at his own Expence the auxiliary Forces they ſhould ſend him. This being agreed to, the *Swedes* marched into *Ruſſia* in the Year 1606, defeated the *Poles*, and thoſe who held with *Demetrius*, in ſeveral Engagements, relieved the City of *Moskow*, which had been reduced to the utmoſt Extremity by a cloſe Siege; in ſhort, delivered *Ruſſia* of the *Poliſh* and Popiſh Yoke. *Jacob De la Gardie*, the *Swediſh* General, being reſolved to purſue his Victories, demanded the Subſidies and Arrears due to his Forces, and a Reinforcement of *Ruſſians*, in order to clear the

Country

Country entirely of the *Poles*; but he was put off with empty Promiſes, and ſo ill ſupported, that in the Year 1610, when it came to a deciſive Battel near *Cluſin*, and the *Ruſſian* Generals had neglected their Out-guards, the *Poles* obtained the Victory, *De la Gardie*'s foreign Troops mutinied for not being paid, and deſerted to the Enemy, leaving the General with his *Swedes* to ſtand the Brunt of the Fight. After this bloody Action he retired to the Frontiers of *Sweden*, and demanded the Pay due to his Forces, and that *Kexholm* be delivered into his Hands: But he could obtain neither, the Ruſſians even refuſing Quarters to his Forces, and the neceſſary Subſiſtence on their March. This almoſt hoſtile Uſage at the Hands of a Nation which he was come to ſave, made him reſolve on forcible Methods; he firſt took *Kexholm* by Force of Arms, and *Novogrod* next, where many of the principal Inhabitants had kept Intelligence with him. Mean time the King of *Poland* had entered *Ruſſia* with a more numerous Army than before, and being joyned by *Demetrius*'s Party, was ſo ſucceſsful, that *Zuisky* was delivered up to him, and the King's own Son, *Vladiſlaus*, elected Czar: But as the *Poles*, who were ſent into *Ruſſia* to make Preparations for the Prince's Reception, committed all ſorts of Outrages, ſome of the chief *Ruſſians*, who were apprehenſive of the Conſequences, reſolved to apply again to *Sweden* for Help. *De la Gardie* was ready to aſſiſt them a ſecond time, and by an advantageous Diverſion, retrieved their Affairs ſo far, that their combined Forces at *Moskow* got Time to recollect themſelves, and think on

Me-

Methods how to re-eſtabliſh the publick Tranquillity. At the ſame time the Inhabitants of *Novogrod* began to entertain Thoughts of chuſing a *Swediſh* Prince for their Czar, and the *Moskovite* Nobility, after mature Deliberation, having joyned in this Reſolution, they ſent three Deputies, one on the Part of the Clergy, another from the Nobility, and a third from the Eſtate of Cities and Burghers, who offered the Crown of *Ruſſia* to Prince *Charles Philip*. This Offer being accepted by the Prince, he went to *Wybourg*, where the Repreſentatives of the Eſtates took the Oath of Subjection and Allegiance to him by kiſſing the Croſs. During theſe Tranſactions, *Michael Fedrowitz* had been proclaimed Czar by another Party at *Moskow*, after they had driven out the *Poles*. But thoſe of *Novogrod* continued in their Allegiance to the *Swediſh* Prince, and aſſured him, that in caſe he ſhould not be able to maintain the Crown of whole *Ruſſia*, he ſhould at leaſt keep the Dominion over *Novogrod*, which was a Principality by it ſelf, and had an ancient Right of chuſing their own Governors. This now was the Point in Diſpute, and occaſioned the War between *Sweden* and the Czar *Michael Fedrowitz*, in which both Parties were contending for the Crown of *Ruſſia*.

Before we proceed any further to a ſtrict Examination of this Affair, it will be of uſe to lay down the following Obſervations:

1. That *Ivan Waſſilowitz* took the City of *Novogrod* by Deceit, and with Injuſtice, and that it was ſtill a greater Uſurpation when he over-ran the more remote Provinces, as *Livonia*

vonia and *Ingria*, in which Attempt he ſucceeded the more eaſily at a Time, when *Sweden* was in no Condition to hinder it, though they never gave up their Right.

2. That *Erick* XIV. King of *Sweden*, being at Variance with *John* his Brother, too much neglected the maintaining the Rights of *Sweden*; he even carried on ſecret Intrigues with the Czar, to deliver up to him his Brother's Conſort, a *Poliſh* Princeſs, (which was alledged againſt him among the Reaſons for dethroning him.) But his Succeſſors purſued the Right of *Sweden* with their utmoſt Efforts, and enforced their juſt Pretenſions by taking *Narva* and other Places, though the Fortune of their Arms was variable, as it often happens.

3. That the Czar *Fedor Ivanowitz* offered to purchaſe of King *John*, for ready Money, *Nôteburg*, *Ivanogrod*, and other Places in *Ingria*; an Offer which implies an Acknowledgement of the *Swediſh* Right. But the ſame was rejected, becauſe it would have been contrary to the Laws to alienate a Right belonging to the Crown.

4. King *Charles* IX. when he ſent an Ambaſſador to the Czar *Zuiski* in the Year 1607. expreſly reſerved to himſelf the recovering of the Principalities and Caſtles belonging to him, eſpecially *Kexholm*, *Nôteburg*, and *Ivanogrod*, which had been forcibly taken from *Sweden*, the firſt in the Year 1292, the ſecond in 1318, and the third in 1406, according to what is more at large ſet forth in the foreſaid Ambaſſador's Inſtructions.

5. Though King *Charles* did not obtain entire Satisfaction, yet conſidering the Oppreſ-

ſion

ſion which *Ruſſia* ſuffered from the *Poles*, he was prevailed upon without Delay to ſuccour *Moskow*, which was already driven to Extremity, he being in Hopes the remaining Differences might be adjuſted by an amicable Compoſition. But how his good Intentions were rewarded, may be partly judged by what is ſaid before.

We are now entering upon the laſt Epocha of the *Ruſſian* Hiſtory, under the preſent Family. Things being at length come to an open War between *Sweden* and the Czar *Michael Fedrowitz*, the Founder of that Family, *Sweden* maintained its own Right as well as that of its Prince *Charles Philip*, to the utmoſt of their Power. *Ivanogrod*, *Copporia*, *Jama*, *Nôteburg*, *Ladoga*, *Stara-Ruſſia*, and other Places, fell under the Poſſeſſion of the *Swedes*, either by Force, or by free Surrender, and thoſe who favoured Prince *Charles Philip*'s Intereſt, made Preparations for his Election at *Novogrod*. The *Swediſh* Forces obtained ſeveral Advantages of the *Ruſſian* Army, particularly near *Brunitz*, and when the Negotiations of Peace, under the Mediation of *Great Britain* and the *States-General of the United Provinces*, had begun, the *Swedes* were upon the Point of taking the City of *Pleskow*, if King *Guſtavus Adolphus* had not raiſed the Siege upon the Interpoſition of the foreſaid mediating Powers, and out of peaceable Inclinations, and ſo a perpetual Peace was concluded at *Stolbowa* the 13th of February 1617.

By this Treaty King *Guſtavus Adolphus* remitted a great many of his Pretenſions in Conſideration of *Germany*, which under its

Oppreſſion implored his Aſſiſtance. On the part of Prince *Charles Philip* he had a Right to claim the Sovereignty of all *Ruſſia*, but particularly of the Principality of *Novogrod*, which by the Conſent of the Inhabitants he actually had in his Poſſeſſion. On the part of *Sweden* he might have inſiſted on *Kexholm* and the ancient Boundaries, as alſo on the Payment of his Expences for his Succour, and the Arrears of the Subſidies. This intricate Affair was at laſt accommodated on the following Terms: That *Sweden* ſhould for ever keep the Poſſeſſion of *Ingria* and *Carelia* with all Dependencies, from *Nôteburg* to the little River *Megoſitz*; in exchange, *Sweden* gave up *Novogrod* and the other Places: Both Parties reciprocally renounced all Claims to the reſpective Provinces which were to be delivered up to either of them purſuant to the new Treaty: They mutually engaged to obſerve a ſincere and inviolable Friendſhip, and that in caſe any Differences ſhould ariſe, they ſhould begin no War, but all ſhould be amicably adjuſted and determined by Commiſſaries and Arbitrators. To ſet this Matter in a better Light, it will not be improper, with all poſſible Brevity to run through the ſeveral Articles of the Treaty of *Stolbowa*, as far as they relate to our Purpoſe.

" *Art.* I. It is obſervable in this Article that " the Peace is concluded for ever, and the " Countries yielded up are appropriated to the " Prince to whom they belonged of old: By " virtue of this preſent Contract of Peace (theſe " are the Words of the Treaty) ſhall from " this preſent time for the future be renewed,

" eſtabliſhed,

" eſtabliſhed, confirmed and inviolably kept " an everlaſting Peace and upright Friend- " ſhip between the two Potentates, with " their Dominions, Lands and Towns, as " well thoſe that of old belonged to them, " and by this Contract of Peace are yielded " up and reſtored, alſo between their Vaſ- " ſals, *&c.*

" *Art.* II. Purſuant to this Article the King " of *Sweden*, N. B. out of good Will, yields " up *Novogrod*, *Stara-Ruſſa*, *Porkow*, *Ladoga* " and *Augdow* with the Territory of *Som-* " *mer*.

" *Art.* VII. Prince *Charles Philip* reſigns " his Right, and remits to the Inhabitants " the Oath of Allegiance, nor will the King " urge it for the future.

" *Art.* VIII. The Grand-Prince in return " for this Royal Goodneſs, Friendſhip and " good Will reſigns all Pretenſions on *Ivano-* " *grod*, *Jama*, *Coporia*, and *Noteburg* with all " the adjoyning Lands, Towns and Territo- " ries, for an everlaſting Property, without " Hinderance from any Grand-Prince, Heir " or Succeſſor, or any Claim or Contradiction " from the State of *Ruſſia*, or the Dominion " of *Novogrod*, for everlaſting Times, entire " and compleat as the former *Ruſſian* Grand- " Princes, eſpecially the Grand-Prince *Ivan* " *Waſſiowitz*, and his Son, Grand-Prince *Fe-* " *dor Ivanowitz* held and kept the ſame be- " fore.

This Ceſſion is not only abſolute, but alſo ſufficiently ſhews, how thoſe Places were only for a ſhort time forcibly poſſeſſed by the ſaid Family of Grand-Princes.

" *Art.*

" *Art.* IX. Beſides this reciprocal Reſtitu-
" tion the Czar pays a Sum of Money to
" *Sweden.*

" *Art.* XI. The Caſtle of *Kexholm* with its
" Territory, is yielded up for everlaſting
" Times for the Aid given, by virtue of the
" preſent and former Treaties.

" *Art.* XII. treats of the ſettling of the
" Limits between the Countries, Towns and
" Territories yielded up on both Sides, name-
" ly that the Territories of *Nôteburg*, *Copo-*
" *ria*, *Jama* and *Ivanogrod* be marked out by
" exact Bounds and Land-marks from the
" Territories of *Ladoga*, *Novogrod*, *Sommer*,
" and *Augdow*, alſo between the Pariſh of
" *Kexholm*, the Territories of *Salm* and *No-*
" *vogrod*, in the Pariſh of *Agniſma* near the
" Lake of *Ladoga*, as the Limits were of
" old, *&c.*

By this it is plain what to every one be-
longs, and they alſo have bound themſelves
in the ſtrongeſt manner firmly and inviolably
to obſerve this for everlaſting time.

" *Art.* XIII. The Czar, ſo as his Prede-
" ceſſors had done in the Years 1595 and
" 1609, renounces all Pretenſions on *Livonia*,
" and engages for himſelf and Succeſſors ne-
" ver to undertake any thing againſt *Livonia*
" and *Ingria* contrary to the Right of *Swe-*
" *den*, and the Title thereof yielded up to
" it, nor to aſſiſt others in any ſuch At-
" tempt.

It is worth particular notice here, that not
only the Title of *Livonia* is in this Article
given up to the King of *Sweden*, but alſo that
the King immediately thereupon aſſumed the
ſaid Title, and afterwards conſtantly and
without

without any Contradiction made uſe of it, which the Czar on his Side never did nor pretended to.

" *Art.* XIV. Where the freedom of Com-
" merce is eſtabliſhed, repeated mention is
" made of the ſame Places as belonging to
" *Sweden* of old and purſuant to the Trea-
" ties.

" *Art.* XVII. Where the free Paſſage of
" the reſpective Embaſſies and Subjects by
" Land and by Water, is agreed on, the ſame
" is again done in ſuch plain Terms, that
" there is no room left for any doubt con-
" cerning what by Right belongs to one Par-
" ty or the other.

" *Art.* XXII. The Differences ariſing ſhall
" not be determined by Arms, but be amicably
" adjuſted.

" *Art.* XXV. Nothing ſhall be done con-
" trary to this, neither privately nor publick-
" ly, nor ſhall either Party be diſturbed by
" the other in his rightful Poſſeſſion of thoſe
" Towns and Countries. Particularly the
" Grand-Prince (as the Words of the Paci-
" fication are) ſhall not practiſe any thing or
" ſuffer to be practiſed againſt *Wybourg*, *Re-*
" *val*, *Narva*, *Weiſſenſtein*, *Ivanogrod*, *Jama*,
" *Coporia*, *Nôteburg*, *Kexholm*, *Neuſchloſs*, *Ta-*
" *vaſthus*, *Cajanaburg*, *Naburg*, the *Lapponian*
" Pariſhes belonging to the Kingdom of
" *Sweden*, and other his Majeſty's Domini-
" ons, Towns and Fortreſſes, with the ad-
" joyning Territories and Subjects, nor make
" War againſt them or cauſe them to be
" hurt, but both Parties ſhall ſhew each o-
" ther all Good-will, and faithfully perform
" all that promotes Friendſhip.

" *Art.* XXVI. For the ſurer maintaining " of Friendſhip, all this ſhall be ſworn to " and confirmed by an Oath and the Kiſſing " of the Croſs, as alſo by Letters of Ratifi- " cation from Heir to Heir.

This was done accordingly not only immediately upon the Concluſion of the Peace, but alſo afterwards on all Succeſſions and Changes, when the Prince who newly entered upon the Adminiſtration, took the Oaths for himſelf and Succeſſors in Confirmation of the ſaid everlaſting Pacification, and always cauſed the neceſſary Inſtruments to be drawn up for that Purpoſe. This Treaty was alſo faithfully obſerved on both Sides, till the Czar *Alexius Michaelowitz* was prevailed on by a certain Potentate to break with *Sweden*, which however he ſoon repented, and renewed the former Treaty by a new everlaſting Pacification concluded at *Kardis* on the 21ſt of June 1661, which is particularly remarkable not only becauſe it confirmed all that had been agreed on in the former Treaty, but alſo becauſe it was made the Rule and Foundation of all enſuing Treaties. The following Extract may ſerve for a further Explanation of this Subject:

" *Art* I. All Enmity and all Differences " ſhall be buried in eternal Oblivion, and in- " ſtead of it an everlaſting Peace and Friend- " ſhip ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

" *Art.* VI. The Limits ſhall be drawn a- " bove *Nyhuſen* between the Villages through " and along the little River *Megoſitz*, that " for the future no Differences may happen " on that account neither by Land nor by " Water.

" *Art.*

" *Art.* VII. No ſecret Practices ſhall be " carried on by either Party againſt the neigh- " bouring Places, among which are named " on the part of *Sweden*, *Riga*, *Reval*, *Narva*, " *Wibourg*, the *Lapponian Pogoſts*, (Diſtricts) " *Finland*, *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, *Carelia* and *In-* " *gria* with the Towns and Territories ad- " joyning.

" *Art.* XII. Where the freedom of Com- " merce by Water and by Land is ſtipulated, " mention is only made of the Harbours be- " longing to *Ruſſia* on the Lakes *Ladoga* and " *Peipus*, but among thoſe belonging to " *Sweden* mention is made not only of thoſe " on the foreſaid Lakes, but alſo of thoſe on " the Salt-Sea.

" *Art.* XXIV *and* XXV. This everlaſting " Peace ſhall not be broke for any Reaſons " whatſoever, but the Differences ariſing ſhall " be amicably adjuſted.

" *Art.* XXVII. That Prince who newly " enters upon the Adminiſtration, ſhall ſend " an Embaſſy to the other, and they ſhall " give to each other Letters of Ratification " confirmed by Oath, for the maintaining of " this everlaſting Peace.

This was accordingly performed not only then, but alſo in the Treaty made at *Plyſis* on the 12th of *October* 1666, between King *Charles* XI. and the Czar *Alexius Michaelowitz*, when the Regulation of both their Majeſties Titles was agreed on, and eſpecially in " *Art.* II. it was ſtipulated that his Cza- " riſh Majeſty ſhould give to his Swediſh " Majeſty the Title of Lord of *Ingria*," which accordingly was obſerved in all Negociations and Letters with relation to *Ingria* as

well as *Carelia* and other Swediſh Dominions, which on the other hand never were inſerted neither in the Czar's greater nor leſſer Title. As for the reſt, the Pacifications of *Stolbowa* and *Kardis* for everlaſting Peace and Friendſhip, were confirmed by this latter Treaty, and afterwards by the ſeveral enſuing Embaſſies, when the Czars *Fedor Alexewitz*, as alſo *Ivan* and *Peter Alexewitz* entered upon the Adminiſtration, and likewiſe when King *Charles* XII. aſcended the Swediſh Throne, on which ſeveral Occaſions the ſaid Confirmation was repeated purſuant to what had been agreed to. His preſent Czariſh Majeſty *Peter Alexewitz* not only at that time confirmed the everlaſting Peace eſtabliſhed with reſpect to thoſe Countries, by actually taking the Oath and Kiſſing the holy Croſs, but alſo when the Embaſſy arrived from the new King of *Sweden*, *Charles* XII. again delivered his Inſtrument of Ratification on the 20th of November 1699, in Confirmation of the Treaties he had already ſworn to.

Here it is to be obſerved, I. That the War carried on between the Czar *Michael Fedrowitz* (the firſt Czar of the Family of *Romanow*) related not merely to the Demands and Pretenſions made only on one Side by *Sweden* for Satisfaction and reſtoring their ancient Limits, but that the Struggle even was about the very Crown of *Ruſſia* and all its Dominions together, for which reaſon the Czar in the Treaty of *Stolbowa* takes notice with a particular Satisfaction, that the whole Crown is yielded to him, and that *Sweden* is ſatisfyed with what was already its Due, which the Czar on his part engaged to leave to their quiet Poſſeſſion,

ſeſſion; in truth but a ſmall Matter conſidering how much he was a Gainer by that Bargain. This argues how moderate and peaceable were *Sweden*'s Deſigns, foraſmuch as it deſiſted from all its rightful Claims and Pretenſions, and was ſatisfyed with the Czar's reſigning what actually did not belong to him. And ſo all Pretenſions on both Sides were annulled in the moſt effectual manner, concerning Matters which in former Times had given Birth to Wars, and which were now finally and for ever determined by the Pacification of *Stolbowa*.

II. That this was the firſt Treaty of Peace, which had yet been eſtabliſhed in due Form and Order between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia* for ſettling the Limits and a friendly Neighbourhood, and that therefore it is to be looked upon on both Sides as a ſtanding Rule.

III. It was alſo inviolably kept on the part of *Sweden*; and the Czar *Alexius Michaelowitz* when he invaded *Livonia*, in the Year 1656, merely did it in Compliance with the Emperor to make a Diverſion in his and his Confederates Favour, nor did he either in the Declaration of War or in the enſuing Negociation of Peace make the leaſt Pretenſion contrary to the Regulation of the Limits agreed on in the Treaty of *Stolbowa*. Neither is there any Objection made upon that Head in his preſent Czariſh Majeſty's Articles of Complaint publiſhed in *Holland*, but only other Cauſes of War are alledged, which however are of ſuch a nature, that they might eaſily have been amicably adjuſted without effuſion of Blood.

I ſhall make a few Obſervations more concerning the aboveſaid *Epocha's* and Viciſſitudes of Times.

I. When we remount to thoſe ancient Times, when *Ruſſia* either altogether or great part of it, eſpecially the Countries about *Azoff* and on the *Black Sea*, as alſo the Eaſtern Coaſt of the *Baltick*, were ſubject to the *Swediſh* Scepter, it is not our Intention to juſtify the ſtraining of Pretenſions ſo far as to inſiſt, that things ought to be put in the ſame confuſed State they were in before Governments were ſettled by Treaties and Alliances, and brought to that ſalutary Balance which muſt be the Foundation of publick Tranquillity: But the alledging of the Hiſtories of thoſe remote Ages may be uſeful in making the World judge how unreaſonable are ſome Pretenſions of late, and into what Confuſion we muſt fall if we depart from the wholeſome Conſtitutions and careful Regulations made in later Times.

II. Again if we reflect on thoſe Ages when *Ruſſia* was diſmembered between the Poſterity of *Ruric* and divided into many ſmall States, and at length became tributary to the *Tartars*, it is evident that the Grand-Principality of *Moskow* was in no Condition of acquiring any Right over the Provinces now in Diſpute. *Novogrod* was a Principality by it ſelf, diſtinct and ſeparate from the other, conſequently the more remote Countries on the *Baltick* were much more ſo. Nor can thoſe Princes claim any Title from the Wars which the Princes of *Novogrod* made againſt *Sweden*, for the *Swedes* never yielded up their Right and Poſſeſſions. On the contrary when the

the Line of the Princes of *Novogrod*, (who unqueſtionably were deſcended of the Swediſh Princes) became extinct, their Dominions ſhould rather have accrued to *Sweden* than to any of their other Neighbours, who were none of their Relations as the *Swedes* were, the extinct Family being deſcended not only of *Ruric*, but alſo of *Jaroſlaus* by his Wife *Ingrid* a *Swediſh* Princeſs. *Ruſſia* being therefore divided among ſo many Princes, there was none of them who as the Sovereign of the whole Countrey could claim any Right over the Provinces in queſtion, nor could they, who themſelves were ſubject to a foreign Power, acquire any Superiority or Title over their Neighbours; for, what happened in the ſeparate Principality of *Novogrod* and under Princes of a foreign Race, cannot at all be alledged by thoſe of *Moskow*, nor has *Moskow* any other Right to *Novogrod* than what ſolely derives from the Ceſſion the *Swedes* made in the Pacification at *Stolbowa*, and the enſuing Submiſſion of the Inhabitants, conſequently that Treaty (as aboveſaid) ought to be looked upon as the Rule by which both Parties are to be judged.

III. As to the Wars which *Ivan Waſilowitz* the Elder and his Sons made againſt *Ingria*, it is an unqueſtionable Truth, not only that *Novogrod* and the other Countries were ſubdued in an unjuſt and violent manner, which Uſurpation *Sweden* oppoſed, and aſſerted their Right as much as their other Wars would allow; but alſo that upon the Failure of the reigning Line, the ſaid Principality returned to their former Liberty of transferring their Government on another

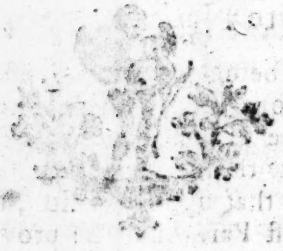
Prince of their own chuſing. Much rather were the Swediſh Countries lying ſtill further off from *Ruſſia*, left in this Caſe to the Liberty of continuing in their rightful Allegiance to *Sweden* according to their own liking.

No lawful Pretenſions can be grounded on the Invaſions and Uſurpations of the Ruſſians, no more than if the *Swedes* would lay Claim to *Azoff* and the *Leſſer Tartary* becauſe they were once Maſters of that Countrey for ſome Centuries. And if the Ruſſians giving Names to ſome Place or other during their Uſurpation can be alledged as an Argument, the Nations that now are inhabiting the Seats of the old *Normans* might with as good Ground reclaim *Neuſtria*, which from them was called *Normandy*; or the Biſhop of *Rome* might by a general Reſumption pretend to draw under his Obedience all thoſe Countries and Cities to which the Romans gave Names when their Empire extended over the greater part of the World. The giving of Names may indeed ſerve as a Remembrance in After-ages, but grants no Right for reviving Claims after things have been put in another Condition by Treaties and other valid Tranſactions. To build a Houſe upon another Man's Ground with an Intent of ſeizing it, is no lawful Title of acquiring the Property of, but the Proprietor's Right remains as valid as before.

As for what relates to the later Times, ſince the preſent Czariſh Family filled the Throne, it is worth obſerving, that the Founder of it *Michael Fedrowitz* owed his Dignity to an Opportunity the *Swedes* had given him: For

if it had not been for their Aſſiſtance, *Ruſſia* would certainly have fallen under the *Poliſh* Yoke. Beſides there was a *Swediſh* Prince, who by a regular Election and the Oath of Allegiance ſworn to him, had as good a Title to the Crown of *Ruſſia* as the Czar *Michael*, which Differences as well as *Sweden*'s ſeparate Pretenſions being adjuſted at *Stolbowa*, that Treaty was the Foundation of the Goverment's being now in the preſent Czariſh Family, and therefore it cannot be infringed without Injuſtice, nor can any of the following Czars have a greater Right than the firſt and Head of the Family had, and this the leſs for as much as each of them ſucceſſively ſwore for himſelf and Succeſſors ſacredly and inviolably to keep the Pacification of *Stolbowa* and *Kardis*.

A DIS-



A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

JUST REASONS

Which his

Czariſh Majeſty, PETER I.

Czar and Emperor of all the *Ruſſias*, &c.

had for beginning the War againſt the King of *Sweden*, *Charles* XII. *Anno* 1700, and which of the two Princes ſhewed more Moderation and Inclination to Peace during the ſaid War.

AS ALSO,

Who is the Cauſe of the long Continuance of that War with the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood, and the Ruin of ſo many Countries, and which of the two Parties moſt obſerved the Rules eſtabliſhed among Chriſtian and polite Nations in carrying on the War.

The whole being gathered from the ancient and modern Tranſactions and Treaties, and from the Journals kept during the Operations of the War, and fundamentally deduced with due Moderation and Impartiality, in ſuch a manner that upon occaſion, the whole, but particularly the firſt Part, may be proved and evidenced to the Curious, from ancient Original Treaties made between the two Crowns, from Letters and Chancery Regiſters, as alſo from credible and impartial Hiſtories.

Drawn up in the Year 1716. with his Czariſh Majeſty's gracious Permiſſion, and printed and publiſhed the Year following 1717. in the City of his Reſidence St. *Petersbourg*.

By *P. S.*

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

Cauſes of the War

BETWEEN

RUSSIA *and* SWEDEN.

THOUGH ſince the firſt Beginning of this preſent War which ſtill depends between the Crowns of *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, many Writings, as Declarations, Manifeſtos, and Univerſalia have appeared in publick; yet as they only were calculated for the Intereſt of each Party, and ſuited with the Conjunctures of the reſpective Times; thoſe that were iſſued on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty only conſiſted of a few Formalities; for as much as they were but intended for Replies to the ſeveral Manifeſtos and Univerſalia publiſhed on the part of *Sweden*, which, contrary to the Practice of all

all Chriſtian and civilized Nations, were filled with Calumnies tending not only to the defaming, affronting and reviling of his Czariſh Majeſty's own high Perſon and the whole Ruſſian Nation, but alſo to ſtir up his Majeſty's Subjects to Rebellion; and that conſequently they were drawn up with no other Intent than to deſtroy thoſe Calumnies and Aſperſions, to vindicate his Czariſh Majeſty's Honour and the Glory of his Arms, and to confirm his Subjects in their Duty and Allegiance. Beſides, the ſaid Manifeſtos and other Writings of that kind, being publiſhed in *Ruſſia* and in the Ruſſian Language for the Information of the Ruſſian Nation, a few excepted, which were publiſhed in *Poland* and in the Poliſh Language, are conſequently little or not at all known to the reſt of *Europe:* Whereas the *Swedes* on their Side cauſed the greater part of thoſe Writings to be drawn up in the German Language, and afterwards, that they might the better become known to every body, to be tranſlated and diſperſed in other Languages uſed in *Europe*, with the deſign to make all the reaſonable World look upon his Czariſh Majeſty as the Author of the War againſt *Sweden*, which he had begun without juſt and lawful Cauſe, and deſigned to continue without ever thinking of Peace, charging him withal with inſufferable Calumnies and Reproaches never practiſed between Chriſtian Potentates. Human Nature therefore commonly inſpiring us with Compaſſion towards the unfortunate, and Envy and Jealouſy againſt thoſe who are in Proſperity, without examining who is the Cauſe of all the Calamities that the former have

have drawn upon themſelves; hence it comes, that many Perſons, but particularly thoſe who live at too great a Diſtance from the Northern Parts, and are not truely informed of the ancient and modern Hiſtory of thoſe Powers, being miſled by the ſaid Swediſh Inſinuations, entertain a Notion, that not only his Czariſh Majeſty, but all the Northern Allies have begun this War againſt his Swediſh Majeſty without lawful and juſt Cauſe, out of mere Ambition, and are reſolved to continue it to his utter Ruin and Deſtruction, without ever giving Ear to an Accommodation. This has induced a true Patriot by Birth a *Ruſſian*, to beg Leave to draw up this preſent Diſcourſe in Refutation of the falſe Inſinuations and Calumnies concerning the Origin of this War charged upon his moſt gracious Sovereign, Czar and Lord, a lover of Laws and Juſtice, and with his Czariſh Majeſty's moſt gracious Approbation to publiſh, and thereby to lay before the Eyes of the whole World,

I.

The juſt, weighty and lawful Cauſes, ancient as well as modern, why his Czariſh Majeſty, as a Chriſtian Monarch, and true Father of his Country, was not only obliged, but even inevitably neceſſitated to begin this War againſt the Crown of *Sweden* as an inveterate, perpetual and implacable Enemy of the Ruſſian Crown, ever ſince the moſt ancient Times till his Czariſh Majeſty's happy Reign.

II.

That not at all his Czariſh Majeſty, but the King of *Sweden* himſelf, is the Cauſe of the

long Continuance of this War, the Effuſion of ſo much human Blood, and the Ruin of ſo many Countries.

III.

That the Proceedings on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty during the whole War were ſuitable to all Chriſtian Moderation and Clemency, and for the greater part according to the Cuſtom and Maxims of all civilized and Chriſtian Nations, and that if on certain Occaſions ſome Rigour was uſed, it was moſtly done by way of Reprizals for the Cruelties committed by the *Swedes* againſt his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces and Subjects: On the contrary that on the Swediſh ſide the ſaid War was, from the beginning till this preſent time, carried on, not at all in a manner uſed among civilized Nations, but rather with inhuman Cruelty and bitter Animoſity againſt his Czariſh Majeſty.

All which we hope to expoſe to View with ſuch Grounds of Truth, that no impartial Man ſhall be able to refute it, much leſs to prove that the leaſt thing can be found herein, not conformable to Truth, or written with Partiality and Animoſity againſt the Swediſh Nation.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

The ancient and modern Causes, for which his Czarish Majesty, as a Father of his Country, was in Justice obliged to make War against Sweden, *and to recover the hereditary Dominions, which had been unjustly wrested from the Crown of* Russia *not only during the everlasting Peace, but even during a defensive Alliance actually subsisting.*

The ancient Causes.

THE Swedes themselves cannot deny, that the Provinces *Carelia* and *Ingria*, with all the Territories, Towns and Places thereto belonging, did of old make part of the Russian Empire; an Assertion that is evident from the Treaties established, and the Correspondences maintained Time out of Mind between the Crowns of *Russia* and *Sweden*. There is particularly a Treaty, kept to this Day in Original in the Russian Chancery, which was made in the Time of the Czar *John Wasiliewitz* of glorious Memory, in the Year 1556, concerning a Truce for forty Years, agreed on between the Governor of *Novogorod*, according to the Custom of those Times, and *Gustavus* I. King of *Sweden*; for in ancient Times the Kings of *Sweden* were obliged to negotiate all Treaties and to keep Correspondence only with the Governors of *Novogorod*, the Russian Mo-

narchs never daigning the Kings of *Sweden* directly to correſpond with them, a thing which was firſt granted in the Year 1564. Several other Treaties made with the Kings *Ericus*, *John* and *Charles* IX. not only prove that the Czars of *Ruſſia* had the Property and Poſſeſſion of the aboveſaid Provinces; but alſo that the greater part of the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Eſthonia* were under the Juriſdiction and Protection of the Ruſſian Crown. A plain Proof of which is, among other things, that the City of *Dôrpt* (in the Ruſſian Language *Jurjeff Livonsky*) ſituate in that Province, was built in the Year 1026, according to the Teſtimony of credible Ruſſian Chronicles, by the Ruſſian Great-Prince *Jaroſlaff George*, and called after his Name *Jurjeff*, which is as much to ſay as *George's Town*. In the like manner *Reval* is called in the Ruſſian Chronicles *Kolivan* (which may be interpreted *John's Town*) after the Name of a Ruſſian Great-Prince *John*, who lived in ancient Times. Accordingly the Biſhops and *Heer-meiſters* (Commanders of the *Teutonick Order*) who governed over the ſaid Cities, owned the Ruſſian Monarchs for their ſupreme Lords, and paid a yearly Tribute to them as Vaſſals: Concerning which Affair many original Writings and Records are ſtill extant to this Day in the Ruſſian Chanceries at *Moskow*, *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*. Another evident Mark of this are the Ruſſian Churches of the Grecian Confeſſion in the two Cities of *Dôrpt* and *Reval*, which have been preſerved there for many Centuries paſt to this preſent Time. And though the ſaid Provinces ſome times, in troubleſome Con-

junctures, departed from the Ruſſian Obedience, yet they were reunited to *Ruſſia* either by Treaties or by Force of Arms. For inſtance, in the Reign of the Ruſſian Great-Prince *Alexander* (who was ſirnamed *Newsky* on account of a great Victory which he obtained on the River *Neva* over *Magnus* King of *Sweden*) the Province of *Livonia*, which had thrown off their Obedience to him, was reduced under their former Allegiance, and a yearly Tribute impoſed on them. The ſaid Provinces were likewiſe in the Poſſeſſion of *Ruſſia* in the Year 1477, in the time of *John Waſiliewitz* I. who was ſirnamed the *Augmenter*. The Reign of his Son, Czar *Waſilius Ivanowitz*, and his Grandſon *John Waſiliewitz* II. (who made War againſt the ſaid Provinces for having revolted) furniſh us with another Proof of the above Aſſertion, *viz.* That in the Year 1553, by Order of his ſaid Czariſh Majeſty, his Governor of *Pleſkow*, *John Koveen*, and his three Collegues, concluded a Treaty at *Novogorod* with the Deputy *Woldemar* and his three Collegues ſent by the Biſhop of *Dôrpt* and the Livonian Nobility and the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City, by virtue of which they obliged themſelves to give Satisfaction for the Injuries and Damage done to the Merchants of *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*, his Czariſh Majeſty's Subjects, as alſo to pay to the full the Contribution, which they had refuſed for ſome Years to pay to his Czariſh Majeſty, contrary to their Duty and Obligation as his Subjects, bound by the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him; and yearly to pay for the future inſtead of the ſaid Contribution, for every Head one

Florin German Money, of which only the Clergy ſhould be exempt. Which Treaty is to this Day kept in Original in his Czariſh Majeſty's Chancery at *Moskow*. And though in the Year 1554, *Guſtavus* I. King of *Sweden* declared War againſt his Czariſh Majeſty, upon ſome Differences, particularly becauſe he was unwilling any further to enter into Treaties or Negotiations with the Governors of *Novogorod* according to the former Cuſtom, but inſiſted upon negotiating directly with his Czariſh Majeſty himſelf, yet he was obliged to raiſe the Siege of *Oreſcheck* or *Nôtebourg* (now called *Steutelbourg*) which he had ſent his Army to beſiege. On the other hand his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces entered the Swediſh Territories and did ſo much Damage there, that King *Guſtavus* was neceſſitated to ſend his Ambaſſadors *Steno Erichſon* with his Collegues, to deſire Peace, to which his Czariſh Majeſty conſented; on Condition however, that only a Truce for forty Years was ſtipulated, according to which the King of *Sweden* ſhould be obliged for the future to negotiate with the Governors of *Novogorod* as had been uſual before. Accordingly the Truce was ſigned by the ſaid Governor, and the Inſtrument of it was delivered by the King of *Sweden*'s Ambaſſadors to his Czariſh Majeſty, who ratified it in their Preſence, and confirmed it according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times with a reciprocal Oath. Upon King *Guſtavus*'s Death, his Son King *Ericus* in the Year 1560, ſent his Ambaſſador *Nicholas Krume* with his Collegues to notify the ſame to his Majeſty, on which occaſion they reiterated their former

Demand, for directly negotiating and corresponding with his Majeſty, though without obtaining it, for they were obliged to have the ſaid Truce confirmed by the Governors of *Novogorod*, according to the ancient Cuſtom, and ſo to return home. But in the Year 1564, King *Ericus* ſent other Ambaſſadors to the Czar, *Iſaac Nielſon* and *John Horn*, who as Plenipotentiaries after a great deal of Pains at laſt concluded a Treaty between his Czariſh Majeſty and King *Ericus*, in which among other things his Czariſh Majeſty granted to the King of *Sweden* the ſaid immediate Correſpondence in conſideration of other advantageous Terms he had obtained from him for it. Beſides this it was expreſſed in the ſaid Treaty: That his Czariſh Majeſty had given Orders to *Michael Maroſoff* his Governor of *Livonia*, to deliver up to the King of *Sweden* the Town of *Reval* with a certain Territory, being part of his hereditary Dominions, as alſo the Town of *Pernau* with ſome ſmall Places in *Livonia*, and that the Swediſh Subjects ſhould be permitted freely to trade to the Town of *Narva* belonging to his Czariſh Majeſty's hereditary Dominions. On the other ſide the ſaid King of *Sweden* obliged himſelf in the ſame Treaty not to make any Pretenſions under what Pretext ſoever on the remaining Towns in *Livonia* and *Eſthonia*, eſpecially on *Riga* with its Dependencies, as belonging to his Czariſh Majeſty by Inheritance and Property, and being under his Protection. The Original of which Treaty any Body may ſee in his Czariſh Majeſty's Chancery. It ſufficiently appears from the abovementioned Reaſons,

that his Czariſh Majeſty's Pretenſions not only on *Ingria* and *Carelia*, but alſo on *Livonia* and *Eſthonia* are perfectly lawful and juſt. But to give the better Information to the Publick concerning the ancient Revolutions that enſued afterwards, it is to be remembered, that the ſaid King *Ericus*'s two Brothers *John* and *Charles* revolted againſt him ſometime after, and dethroned him, on which occaſion *John* found means to raiſe himſelf to the Royal Dignity; he forthwith ſeized and affronted the Ambaſſadors which *John Waſiliewitz* II. had ſent to King *Ericus*, for which the ſaid Czar declared War againſt him in the Year 1572. Nevertheleſs the two Parties having ſent Commiſſaries to each other, Matters were ſo far agreed on, that their Ambaſſadors met on the Frontiers near the River *Seſtra* or *Siſterbeck*, not far from *Wybourg*, and entered upon a Negotiation of Peace: It was urged on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty, that the King of *Sweden* ſhould lay no Claim to *Livonia* or *Eſthonia*, as the former's Hereditary Dominions, but reſtore the Towns which he had ſeized in either of thoſe Provinces; to which the *Swedes* anſwered, that they had taken thoſe Towns not from his Czariſh Majeſty, but from the *Heermeiſter*, and therefore refuſed to reſtore them; but the Ruſſian Ambaſſadors maintained their Maſter's ancient and juſt Pretenſions to the ſaid Provinces, aſſerting that the *Heermeiſter* had always been his Czariſh Majeſty's Subject and Vaſſal, and paid Tribute to him. The Reſult was that they could not agree about a Peace, but only made a Truce for two Years, in which

was

was ſtipulated in expreſs Terms: That the two Parties ſhould commit no Hoſtilities againſt each other, and that his Czariſh Majeſty ſhould not ſuffer any Incurſions to be made into the Swediſh Territories, eſpecially from *Novogorod*, *Carelia*, *Oreſcheck* or *Nôtebourg*, and from the other Frontier Places of the Provinces of *Ingria* and *Finland*. In like manner the ſaid Places and Provinces belonging to his Czariſh Majeſty ſhould not be diſturbed on the part of *Sweden*. However the War between the two Crowns broke out anew, in which the King of *Sweden*, according to the Chance of War, had the good Fortune to take from his Czariſh Majeſty, in the Years 1577 and 1578, the Fortreſs of *Narva* and ſome ſmall Places in *Eſthonia*, as alſo *Iambourg* and *Coporia* in the Province of *Novogorod*, and *Kexholm* in *Carelia*. The Czar *John Waſiliewitz* II. dying in 1584, was ſucceeded by his Son the Czar *Fedor (Theodor) Ivanowitz*. To him *John* King of *Sweden* ſent ſeveral times Expreſſes with Letters, deſiring that a conſtant Peace might be eſtabliſhed between the two Crowns. Accordingly the Ambaſſadors appointed on both Sides for this End, met at the River *Pluſſa*, not far from *Narva*, but could not agree upon a Peace, by reaſon of the Differences concerning the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Eſthonia*, and the Town of *Reval*, and ſo they only made a Truce for four Years. The Czar *Fedor Ivanowitz* being a Prince who had not the leaſt Inclination to War, and beſides of a very weak Conſtitution, committed the chief Care of the Adminiſtration to *Boris Godunoff* his Wife's Brother, a Man

of great Cunning, deep Deſigns, and boundleſs Ambition, who tempted by his Maſter's Weakneſs, began to conceive Thoughts of aſcending and uſurping the Imperial Throne of *Ruſſia*, to compaſs which End he thought it neceſſary, firſt of all to obtain Peace of the foreign Princes at any rate: And ſo it was eaſy for him to perſuade the Czar under divers Pretexts to conclude a Peace with the Crown of *Sweden*. Accordingly after a Correſpondence had been carried on, Ambaſſadors were ſent by both Parties with full Powers, *viz.* on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty the *Okolnitzey* (which at that time was a Privy-Councellor of the ſecond Degree) *Ivan Turenin*; and on the part of *Sweden Steno Banier* with his Collegues, who in the Year 1594, met at the River *Narva*, and made a Treaty of perpetual Peace; by which the King of *Sweden* yielded up to the Crown of *Ruſſia*, only the Province of *Carelia* with the Places belonging to it, ſo as the ſame had time out of Mind (the expreſs Words of the Treaty) belonged to the Government of *Novogorod:* On the part of his Czariſh Majeſty were yielded up to *Sweden*, *Narva* and *Reval* with all the Towns and Places thereto belonging, and Renunciation was made of all his Pretenſions to them; which Treaty of perpetual Peace was afterwards ratified and confirmed by both Potentates. Now though in this manner the Ruſſian Pretenſions to *Livonia* and *Eſthonia* were, as one may ſay, yielded up to the Crown of *Sweden*, under the bad Adminiſtration of that Time, yet *Ruſſia* continued after the Confirmation of the ſaid perpetual Peace in the undiſturbed

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of *Ingria* and *Carelia* with all Towns and Places thereto belonging, and things remained ſo without any Alteration till the Year 1608, notwithſtanding the great and dreadful Fatalities and Diſaſters under which the Ruſſian Empire groaned at that time. Though the Particulars of thoſe Diſturbances are ſufficiently known from Hiſtory, yet we have thought neceſſary briefly to relate them here. The ſaid Czar *Theodor Ivanowitz*, though as to his Perſon a pious and gracious Monarch, was miſled by the Ambition of *Boris Godunoff* his prime Miniſter or in effect Regent of the Empire, to ſuch a degree that during his Reign the beſt and principal Miniſters, and moſt faithful Patriots, whom *Godunoff* ſuſpected they might obſtruct his Deſigns, ſuffered great Perſecution and many of them were put to Death. The high Family of the *Romanoffs* (of which our preſent Czar and Lord now happily reigning is deſcended) being nearly related in Blood to the ancient Czariſh Family, were the chief Sufferers under that Adminiſtration; all the principal Perſons of that Family were exiled to the remoteſt Places and oppreſſed by all ſorts of Perſecution even Death. *Godunoff* having in this manner removed the greater part of them out of the way, and ſeeing himſelf ſufficiently ſecure, his boundleſs Ambition ſtimulated him to ſpill even the Czariſh Blood; he cauſed his Czar's and Lord's only Brother, the Czariſh Prince *Demetrius*, to be aſſaſſinated in his tender Years by Villains whom he had hired to commit the Fact. Having thus on all Sides opened himſelf a Way to the Throne, the Czar *Theodor Ivanowitz* ſoon after

after died ſuddenly, not without well-grounded Suſpicion that his Death had been likewiſe procured by the wicked Intrigues, Treachery and Poyſon of the ſaid *Godunoff*. The ancient Czariſh and Grand-princely Family being thus extirpated, *Godunoff* ſoon after was by his Creatures and Adherents elected Czar and raiſed to the Throne in the Year 1598. But as it is uſual that a Crown obtained by Injuſtice and Blood, is ſupported by the ſame unjuſt Methods and bloody Counſels; ſo the Uſurper little concerned himſelf about the Intereſt of the Empire, but only made it his Buſineſs how by yielding up one Province and Town after the other, he might live in Peace with the neighbouring Powers, and ſtrengthen his Government by Blood-ſhed and Executions at home, which at that time only took up his Attention. This Conduct ſo much incenſed the whole Nation, but particularly the principal Men of the Empire, that they wiſhed with the utmoſt Impatience to ſee an Avenger riſe againſt that impious and unjuſt Uſurper of the Ruſſian Crown, which accordingly by the Judgement of God Almighty ſoon after happened, in the following manner. One *Gregory*, of the noble Family of *Otrepjeff*, formerly a Monk, who was run away from the Monaſtery of *Tzudov* ſituate in the Caſtle of *Moſkow*, had retired to *Poland*, where he gave himſelf out to be *Demetrius Ivanowitz* the Czariſh Prince that had been murthered, pretending, that he had eſcaped before *Godunoff*'s Aſſaſſins arrived. *Mniſchеck*, *Woywode* of *Sendomir*, in whoſe Service he lived, either really gave Credit to this Impoſture, or feigned

ſo

ſo to do, in hopes of raiſing his Family on this Occaſion; he owned him for the true Ruſſian Prince *Demetrius*, and promiſed him all poſſible Aſſiſtance in recovering his pretended rightful paternal Throne, on condition, that after having ſucceeded in it, he ſhould marry his Daughter; which accordingly *Otrepjeff* promiſed, and ſigned a Contract in writing for it: The *Woywode* afterwards made Report of this Affair to *Sigiſmund*, who was then King both of *Poland* and *Sweden*, and being a *Swede* by Birth, out of an innate Animoſity againſt *Ruſſia*, with Joy embraced this Opportunity of imbroiling and ruining its Empire, gave him Forces, and ſent them under the Command of his own Officers into *Ruſſia*. So ſoon as they had entered the Ruſſian Territories, they iſſued Univerſalia or Manifeſtos in the Name of the ſaid Prince *Demetrius*, ſetting forth that he had miraculouſly eſcaped the Aſſaſſination deſigned againſt him by *Godunoff*, and retired to *Poland*, from whence he was now come to recover the Crown which by his Birthright belonged to him, as he pretended. The common People, who taking all this to be Truth, wiſhed to place the rightful Heir on the Throne, forthwith ſided with him; many of the principal Men, by degrees followed the People's Example, in hopes to free themſelves of the Perſecution they ſuffered under the Uſurper. *Godunoff*, ſeeing himſelf at laſt abandoned by all, out of Deſpair, as ſome ſay, laid violent Hands on himſelf. And though the Remainder of his Adherents chuſe his Son *Fedor* for their Czar, yet he was afterwards when *Pſeudo-Demetrius* approached *Moskow*,

Moskow, put to Death by his Orders with all the reſt of *Godunoff*'s Family. In this manner a Pretender, a worthleſs run-away Monk, of an obſcure though noble Family, taking upon him the Name of the aſſaſſinated Prince *Demetrius*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Crown of the great Empire of *Ruſſia*. In Acknowledgement of the Aſſiſtance he had received from King *Sigiſmund*, he yielded to him many Ruſſian Countries, granted conſiderable Immunities and Privileges to the *Poles* in the City of *Moskow*, married the aboveſaid *Woywode* of *Sendomir*'s Daughter, and ſhewed an Inclination for the Roman Catholick Religion. This ſoon drew upon him the Hatred and Suſpicion of the Ruſſian Nation, and made him be looked upon by Men of Penetration as an Uſurper and not the rightful Heir and Succeſſor, the rather becauſe all the great Men and moſt of the Nobility well knew, that he had falſely aſſumed the Name of the late Prince *Demetrius*, and that they had been neceſſitated by the Conjunctures of that Time, and with the View of throwing off as ſoon as poſſible the odious and inſupportable Yoke of the Czar *Godunoff*, to diſſimulate with him, it being the nature of human Affairs, to try the leaſt and eaſieſt of two Evils, let the Chance be never ſo hazardous. But when they became ſenſible, that a worſe Evil was enſuing, they began to think on Means how to rid themſelves of that Uſurper alſo; accordingly, after many ſecret Counſels that had been held among the principal great Men, they on a ſudden ſurprized this falſe *Demetrius*, and killed him with many of the *Poles* who endeavoured to defend

defend him, the reſt being diſperſed throughout the Country. After this they elected by unanimous Conſent the Boyar and Prince *Baſilius Ivanowitz Schuisky* to be their Czar and *Autocrator* or Sovereign of all *Ruſſia*. But though this Monarch very well deſerved that Dignity both on account of his ſingular Underſtanding, and his ancient Family, yet the Flame of inteſtine Wars was thereby not only not extinguiſhed, but even ſoon after broke out with greater Vehemence. Diviſions had already taken too deep Root in the Ruſſian Nation, and many of the great Men, who envied him his high Dignity, and were unwilling to ſubmit to the Obedience of one whom they thought their equal, were continually plotting and raiſing Factions. The remaining *Poles* found another Impoſtor, and gave out that the pretended *Demetrius* had not been killed, but made his Eſcape, to confirm which, they brought to him the Wife of the other that had been maſſacred, as if he was her true Husband. In the mean time they reinforced their Troops, and endeavoured to gain the Ruſſian Nation over to him by degrees, and to ſtir them up to Rebellion. The Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz*, being thus diſtracted between domeſtick and foreign Enemies, had no leiſure of eſtabliſhing himſelf on the Ruſſian Throne, and as his Army (on which beſides he could not rely during the inteſtine Troubles) was ſo far from being in a condition of making head againſt his Enemies, that he even could not act upon the defenſive, he left his Reſidence *Moskow*, and ſeeing no other Remedy, found himſelf neceſſitated to apply to his Neighbours for foreign

reign Aſſiſtance. However he would by no means ſeek for Help among the Infidels, Mahometans or Tartars, but expecting to meet with more Faith among the Chriſtians, ordered his Couſin Prince *Michael Waſiliewitz Schuisky*, Governor of *Novogorod*, to ſend in his Name to *Charles* IX. King of *Sweden* to deſire Auxiliaries of him, and to conclude with him a defenſive Alliance againſt *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*; not at all foreſeeing that by this Step, inſtead of Relief, he was going to draw upon himſelf a far greater Evil, and involve the whole Ruſſian Empire into irretrievable Damage and total Ruin. This being one of the moſt important Subjects of the preſent Treatiſe, we will relate and ſet it in a proper Light in all its Circumſtances, as taken from the Records kept in the Ruſſian Chancery.

In the Year 1609, the Prince *Michael Schuisky* Governor of *Novogorod*, by Order of the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz* aforeſaid, ſent the Great-Steward and *Woywode Simeon Waſiliewitz Golovin*, and the Secretary *Sydavnoy Senoviow* to the King of *Sweden Charles* IX. with a full Power and Credential Letter drawn up in the ſaid Governor's Name, to deſire of the King Auxiliaries againſt the King of *Poland* and the domeſtick Rebels, and at the ſame time to conclude with him a defenſive Alliance for future times. Thoſe Perſons went to *Wybourg*, to meet the Senators and Generals ſent by the King of *Sweden* with full Powers, *viz. Jûrgen (George) Boy* and his Collegues; after a previous Negotiation, they agreed among themſelves, that the King of *Sweden* ſhould make over to the Czar for his Succour

Succour two thouſand Men Cavalry well armed, and three thouſand Infantry likewiſe well armed, under the Command of his Generals, *Axel Kurck*, Marſhal *Kriſter Some*, *Andrew* and *Hans Horn*, according to an Agreement made to this End, which is expreſſly referred to in the main Tteaty, for which Auxiliaries a certain Sum of Subſidies was ſtipulated. Beſides this the King of *Sweden*, in Teſtimony of his Friendſhip to his Czariſh Majeſty, was to ſend him over and above the ſaid Number of Men as many Swediſh Forces, as he ſhould be pleaſed; without Subſidies paid for them. On the other Side the Ruſſian Plenipotentiaries engaged in the Name of their Maſter, that he and his Succeſſors in conſideration of his Swediſh Majeſty's Friendſhip would perpetually and inviolably keep the Peace made in the Year 1594, and deſiſt from the Pretenſions on the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Eſthonia*, as alſo firmly ſtand by the Alliance made againſt King *Sigiſmund* then reigning in *Poland*, his Children and Succeſſors, and the Kingdom of *Poland*, and that no Party ſhould make Peace with him without the Conſent of the other, but if his Czariſh Majeſty ſhould be willing to conclude a Peace with the King of *Poland*, his Swediſh Majeſty ſhould be at Liberty reciprocally to do as his Czariſh Majeſty. Likewiſe, in caſe the King of *Sweden* ſhould have occaſion for any Troops againſt the King of *Poland*, his Czariſh Majeſty ſhould be bound to make over to him a like Number for the ſame Sum of Subſidies, and on the ſame Terms his Swediſh Majeſty had then done; and his Czariſh Majeſty promiſed

ſed to ſend to the King of *Sweden* as many Troops without Subſidies, as he ſhould ſend to his Czariſh Majeſty. Moreover the Swediſh Plenipotentiaries engaged, that the ſaid Troops ſhould faithfully ſerve his Czariſh Majeſty againſt the *Poles* and Rebels, under the Command of the *Boyar* and *Woywode* Prince *Michael Schuisky*, and that all Operations of War ſhould be undertaken according to his Will and Advice. It was further ſtipulated, that thoſe Troops ſhould reduce ſuch Towns, as ſhould ſhew themſelves diſobedient to his Czariſh Majeſty, and deliver them up to his Czariſh Majeſty or his Generals; but that they ſhould do no harm to thoſe that ſhould continue in his Czariſh Majeſty's Allegiance, or freely ſubmit to him; that during their ſtay in *Ruſſia*, as well as upon their marching out again, they ſhould not garriſon nor ſeize on Places under his Czariſh Majeſty's Juriſdiction, nor join in any Treaſon againſt his Czariſh Majeſty. All which they confirmed upon Oath on the Book of the Goſpels in the Preſence of the aboveſaid Ruſſian Ambaſſadors, and had Promiſe made them that for ſuch faithful Service the Subſidies ſhould be regularly paid to them from their arrival on the Ruſſian Frontiers, during all the time of their Service, till their return, by virtue of a Convention and Treaty made on that Head between the Prince *Michael Schuiſky*, and the Swediſh General Count *Manſfeld*; as alſo that they ſhould be furniſhed with Relais gratis, and with Proviſions for their Money. This Treaty was ſigned and ſealed by both Parties, and confirmed by Oath the 28th of *February*, 1609.

Purſuant

Purſuant to this Treaty the ſaid Swediſh Auxiliary Forces actually arrived, and after having joined the Ruſſian Army, acted in conjunction with them againſt the *Poles* and Ruſſian Rebels, who were then united, and after having had ſome Skirmiſhes with them, advanced before the City of *Moskow*, where the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz* not only paid them the Subſidies as he had promiſed, but alſo gave many Preſents to them, the better to encourage them faithfully to ſerve his Czariſh Majeſty. King *Sigiſmund* having at that time openly broke the Treaty of Peace, and actually laid Siege to the City of *Smolensko*, his Czariſh Majeſty commanded his Brother, Prince *Demetrius Schuisky*, to ſuccour that Place with the Ruſſian Forces and the Swediſh Auxiliaries, and cauſed the Payment of the ſaid Auxiliaries to be advanced to their commanding General, Count *De la Guardie*, who either out of Self-intereſt and Avarice, or, as it appeared in the Event, deſignedly for ſome Intrigues he intended, never paid it to the Soldiers, but rather ſpread a Report, that he could not obtain the Payment of thoſe Sums; the Effect of which was, that the Officers as well as the common Soldiers grew diſcontented to ſuch a degree, that when it came to an Engagement with the Enemy, they refuſed to fight, and many of them went over to the Enemy. Soon after, the Ruſſian Forces meeting the Army ſent againſt them by the King of *Poland* under the Command of the General *Schelkoffsky*, and engaging with them, the Swediſh General *Jacob De la Guardie*, who for ſome time had kept Correſpondence with the Poliſh General, treacherouſly went over

to the *Poles*, contrary to the Treaty that had been made, and the Oath of Fidelity he had taken to his Czariſh Majeſty, and began as an open Enemy to act in Conjunction with the *Poles* againſt the Ruſſian Army commanded by the Prince *Demetrius Schuisky*. On which Occaſion the Swedes plundered and carried off the military Caſh deſigned for the Payment of the Ruſſian as well as auxiliary Forces, and great part of their Baggage; which neceſſitated the Prince *Demetrius Schuisky* to retire with his Troops to *Moskow*. But the Swediſh General marched towards *Novogorod* with his Forces, who on their March committed all imaginable Hoſtilities in his Czariſh Majeſty's Towns and Villages with plundering, Fire and Murther, and deſigned to ſurprize and ſeize the City of *Novogorod*. But the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz* being timely informed of his Treachery by a Courier his Brother had diſpatched to him, had ſent divers Orders to *Novogorod* to be upon their Guard againſt the *Swedes*, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence, and ordered a good number of Troops from *Moskow* to march thither, and ſo the Traytor was defeated in his Deſigns, and was obliged to march by that City and other Ruſſian Places into the Swediſh Territories, without attempting any thing, except that a Party of his Forces by the way ſurprized *Ladoga*, a ſmall Town in the Province of *Novogorod*. The ſaid Swediſh General Count *De la Guardie*, and the General *Evert Horn* had left part of the Swediſh Forces with the Poliſh General *Schelkoffsky*, who upon Advice, that the greater part of the Ruſſian Forces had been ordered from *Moskow*

kow for *Novogorod*, to protect that Town and Province from the Swediſh Inſults, in Conjunction with the *Swedes* inveſted *Moskow*, after which he alſo joined the ſecond *Pſeudo-Demetrius*, as he was called, whom the *Poles*, as is mentioned before, had by their Intrigues ſubſtituted to the firſt that was killed, to foment the Troubles in the Ruſſian Empire. While the Siege of *Moskow* was carrying on, they diſperſed divers ſeditious Papers to ſtir up the Ruſſian Nation to a Rebellion againſt the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz*. During thoſe Diſturbances, the *Poles* propoſed on the part of their King to the Ruſſian Nation, that in order to put an End to the War and reſtore domeſtick Tranquillity, they ſhould dethrone the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz*, and elect in his room the Prince *Vladiſlaus*, King *Sigiſmund*'s Son, to be Czar of all *Ruſſia*, aſſuring that the ſaid Prince-Royal would embrace the true Ruſſian Religion of the Grecian Confeſſion, and for ever maintain the Nation in their former Rights and ancient Cuſtoms, beſides other Promiſes more. To render this Affair the more plauſible, King *Sigiſmund* ſent a Letter in his Name to the Boyars or Senators of *Ruſſia*, in which he propoſed the Prince-Royal his Son to be their Czar on very favourable Conditions. As ſoon as this was known to the Ruſſian Nation, they forthwith entertained the Offer, being tired with the War and inteſtine Troubles attended with the Ruin of the Country, Devaſtation and Famine; accordingly they univerſally deſired the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz*, that, to reſtore Tranquillity in the Ruſſian Empire, and prevent its utter Ruin, he would

reſign the Czariſh Crown, and yield it to the ſaid Prince *Vladiſlaus*. The Czar ſeeing the Impoſſibility of maintaining the Throne, and defending himſelf againſt ſo many Enemies and Traytors, diveſted himſelf of his Dignity. Hereupon the Ruſſian Boyars concluded a Treaty with the Poliſh General *Schelkoffsky* purſuant to the Tenour of the Letter ſent them by King *Sigiſmund*, concerning the placing of the ſaid Prince-Royal on the Ruſſian Throne; which Treaty was afterwards confirmed upon Oath by both Parties: The *Poles* thereby engaged, that all their Forces ſhould forthwith evacuate the Ruſſian Empire, raiſe the Siege of *Smolensko*, and return to *Poland*. To confirm the ſaid Treaty, the Ruſſian Boyars and the whole Nation ſent the Metropolitan of *Roſtoff*, *Philarethus Nikititz Romanoff*, (the Father of *Michael Fedrowitz*, who was afterwards elected Czar) and the Prince *Baſilius Galicyn*, as Ambaſſadors to *Poland*; ſoon after the King of *Poland* ſent ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, who were likewiſe Natives of *Ruſſia*, but in the Poliſh Intereſt, to *Moskow*, to take care of the Adminiſtration till Prince *Vladiſlaus*'s arrival to take Poſſeſſion of it. But the ſaid *Staniſlaus Schelkoffsky* was falſe to his Oath, and not only continued with the Poliſh Forces in *Ruſſia*, but even by his King's Orders entered the City of *Moskow* with them by a Stratagem, ſeized the Czar *Baſilius Ivanowitz*, with his two Brothers, the Boyars and Princes *Demetrius* and *Ivan Schuisky*, and ſent them Priſoners to the King of *Poland*, in direct Breach of his Oath and the ſaid Treaty. And now the *Poles* began to commit great Damage,

mage, Violences and Devaſtation at *Moskow*, and all over the Ruſſian Dominions: The King of *Poland* put the Ruſſian Ambaſſadors under Confinement, and refuſed to let his Son take Poſſeſſion of the Ruſſian Throne, inſtead of which he gave Orders to force the Ruſſians to take the Oath of Allegiance to himſelf as their Sovereign; the Siege of *Smolensko* was carried on all this while by his Orders; he even eſtabliſhed his own Governors and Commanders at *Moskow* and in all the other Cities; in ſhort all things tended towards the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of the Ruſſian Empire. King *Charles* IX. of *Sweden* was no ſooner informed of what happened, but he improved this Opportunity to his own Advantage, and, contrary to the Pacification and Defenſive Alliance concluded with the Ruſſian Empire, ſent the aboveſaid General, Count *De la Guardie*, a ſecond time with a Body of Forces before *Novogorod*; he well knew that both the Troops of *Novogorod* and thoſe who had been ſent thither from *Moſkow* to relieve that City, were marched againſt the *Poles* at *Moskow*, to free that Metropolis of the impending Ruin, with which it was threatened. However he gave Orders to thoſe Forces to give out there that they were ſent purſuant to the ſaid Alliance to aſſiſt the City and Province of *Novogorod*, to prevent the King of *Poland*'s making himſelf Maſter of it: At the ſame time he propoſed one of his Sons to be ſet on the Throne of *Ruſſia*, and the Great Cup-bearer *Baſilius Buturlin*, by Orders of the Boyars of *Moskow*, entered into a Negotiation on that Subject with a Commiſſary ſent for that pur-

poſe by the King of *Sweden*. Under this Pretext the ſaid Swediſh General found Means to enter the City of *Novogorod* partly by Surprize, partly by Force, and notwithſtanding all the Aſſurances he had given, and the Oath he had taken, he permitted the Forces under his Command to commit all ſorts of Hoſtilities, to maſſacre many innocent Perſons, and to plunder numbers of Churches, Noblemens and Burghers Houſes, and near ſeventy Monaſteries, after which he forced the Governor of *Novogorod* to conclude a Treaty with him, by which he obliged himſelf to receive one of the Swediſh Princes on the Throne of *Ruſſia*, and afterwards to diſpoſe the other Towns of the *Ruſſian* Empire to it alſo, with this Condition however, that neither thoſe Provinces nor any thing elſe ſhould be diſmembered from that Empire and incorporated with the Crown of *Sweden*, but that the Limits of both States ſhould remain as they were before, purſuant to the former Treaties eſtabliſhed between the two Powers. But as ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of *Novogorod*, he more and more diſcloſed his malicious Intentions. For he detached a Body of Troops to ſeize on *Nôtebourg*, *Kexholm*, *Ivanogorod*, and other Ruſſian Towns, which was not done without a great deal of Bloodſhed; thoſe Places he intended to incorporate with the Dominions of *Sweden*, and exacted heavy Contributions from the Subjects, Eccleſiaſticks as well as ſecular Perſons. Theſe Proceedings at length began to rouſe the greater part of the States of *Ruſſia*, who foreſaw the utter Ruin and lamentable diſmembring of the Ruſſian Empire; they eſtabliſhed

ed a good Harmony and Unanimity among themſelves, raiſed an Army with a Reſolution to fight in Defence of their Country againſt its Enemies, and to make the Beginning by delivering its Metropolis *Moskow* from the *Poles*. Accordingly they inveſted that City, diſperſed the *Poles* who were in the Neighbourhood of it, and obliged them to retire into the City and Caſtle, which after a long and bloody Siege that laſted near two Years, they took, on which occaſion about nine thouſand *Poles* were taken Priſoners of War, after they had already loſt twenty thouſand and upwards, who were killed during the Siege and in the frequent Aſſaults, as Hiſtory reports. King *Sigiſmund* marched with an Army to ſuccour the City, but the Ruſſian Forces advanced and met him ninety Werſts (or about fifteen German Miles) from *Moskow*, defeated him after a Fight which laſted two Days, and took about one thouſand Priſoners. This Overthrow and Loſs obliged the King to retire to *Lithuania*, leaving his Garriſons in ſeveral of the Ruſſian Towns, who ſoon after were either maſſacred by the Natives, or taken Priſoners of War. The greater part of the Ruſſian Empire being thus cleared of thoſe Enemies, *Michael Fedrowitz Romanoff*, (the Grandfather of the preſent fortunate and glorious Czar and Autocrator of all *Ruſſia Peter the Firſt*) was in the Year 1613 elected Czar and Autocrator or Sovereign of all *Ruſſia*, by the unanimous Conſent of the whole Ruſſian Nation, of the Eccleſiaſtical as well as Secular State, he being nearly related to the ancient Czariſh Family. The new Czar *Mi-*

chael Fedrowitz therefore, on his Acceſſion to the Government, finding his new Empire in a moſt lamentable and ruinous Condition, involved in War with two powerful Crowns, *viz. Sweden* and *Poland*, ravaged and diſmembered; as a wiſe Monarch judged, there was a Neceſſity of endeavouring to diſengage himſelf from one Enemy at leaſt, in order the better to be able to bring the other to Reaſon by Force of Arms. With this View he forthwith ſent an Embaſſy to the King of *Sweden*, not only to notify to him his Election and Acceſſion to the Ruſſian Throne, but alſo to deſire him as a Friend and Ally, that in conformity with the former Treaties of Peace, and the defenſive Alliance eſtabliſhed at the Time of the Czar *Baſilius Schuisky*, he would reſtore to him as the rightful Czar and Lord of all *Ruſſia*, the Ruſſian Provinces and Towns he had ſeized during the Interregnum, and renew the Friendſhip and Alliance eſtabliſhed with his Predeceſſor the Czar *Baſilius Schuisky*, promiſing on his Side to maintain with him all neighbouring Friendſhip and good Correſpondence. But the King of *Sweden*, inſtead of complying with his Propoſals, returned a refuſing Anſwer, and declared, that he had been obliged to ſequeſter the ſaid Provinces to indemnify himſelf for the Arrears of the Subſidies due to his Auxiliaries, and the great Expences they had been at on their March; beſides which he pretended a great deal more as a Reward, and concluded with threatning that if he did not obtain Satisfaction, he would demand it by Force of Arms. Accordingly he ſent an Army under the Command of General *Horn* to beſiege

ſiege the City of *Pleskow*, at the ſame time when King *Sigiſmund* of *Poland* ſent his Son, Prince *Vladiſlaus*, with a great Force againſt his Czariſh Majeſty, who penetrated into the Heart of *Ruſſia* and ravaged it with Fire and Sword whereever he went. In thoſe Extremities the Czar *Michael Fredrowitz* ſent Letters to divers Potentates of Chriſtendom, in which, beſides a Notification of his Advancement to the Throne and his Acceſſion to the Adminiſtration, he ſet forth all the Injuries to which the Ruſſian Empire had been expoſed in the time of his Predeceſſors and his own. Of which Letters two authentick Draughts of the ſame Tenour, which were ſent in 1614, one to the King of *France*, and another to the King of *Great Britain*, are ſtill extant in the Ruſſian Chancery, wherein all that is above alleged may be read more at large. In both thoſe Letters his Czariſh Majeſty not only ſolemnly proteſted againſt the ſaid Injuries, but alſo deſired the Mediation of the two Powers, which was accordingly done to good Effect; for we ſee from other Records, that the Year after the Date of the ſaid Letter, *viz.* 1615, his Britannick Majeſty King *James* I. ſent an Ambaſſador Extraordinary, who in the ancient Ruſſian Records is called *John Merick*, to his Czariſh Majeſty, to interpoſe his Mediation between him and the King of *Sweden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*; the States General of the United Provinces alſo ſent an Ambaſſador, *Rhein von Predor* *, to the King

[* Reinhard van Brederode, *a Journal of whoſe Embaſſy is extant in Low Dutch, printed at the* Hague, 1619, *in* 4to.

of

of *Sweden*. After ſome Correſpondence on both Sides, a certain Place between the Towns *Ladoga* and *Tichwin* was appointed, where the Ambaſſadors were to meet in order to enter upon a Negotiation of Peace. On the part of his Czariſh Majeſty appeared the *Okolnitzey*, Prince *Daniel Meſetzkoi* and his Collegues, with the Character of Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries; and on the part of his Swediſh Majeſty, the Count *De la Guardie* with his Collegues. The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of *England* and *Holland*, who had been ſent to both Parties on account of the aboveſaid Mediation, likewiſe repaired to the Place of Congreſs. The Ruſſian Ambaſſadors on the part of their Maſter, inſiſted, as in Juſtice, on the Reſtitution of the City and the whole Province of *Novogorod*, as alſo *Ingria* with all the Towns and Territories thereto belonging, both on this and the other Side of the *Neva*, as far as the River *Seſtra* or *Siſterbeck*, foraſmuch as they had been part of *Ruſſia* time out of Mind, and had been ſeized by the Swediſh Forces, during the Civil and Poliſh Wars, contrary to all Pacifications, and the Defenſive Alliances that had been eſtabliſhed, and without any Provocation or Cauſe: But the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, well knowing they had nothing to reply that could be of any Weight, even declined meeting the Ruſſian Ambaſſadors in a Conference, but ſent them certain Conditions, to be laid down as a Foundation of the enſuing Treaty. They were as follow: That they would reſtore only the City of *Novogorod* with a ſmall Diſtrict of its Territory, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money;

That

That as for all the remaining Towns and Provinces, they ſhould remain to their Maſter the King of *Sweden*, to indemnify him for the pretended Aſſiſtance he had given to the Ruſſian Empire. In the mean time their Forces carried on the Siege of *Pleskow* with the utmoſt Efforts, and exacted enormous Contributions from the City of *Novogorod*, where all the Inhabitants, the Churches and Monaſteries were entirely ruined by continual plundering. His Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors ſeeing the Obſtinacy of the Swediſh Ambaſſadors, and that there was no Probability his Czariſh Majeſty would be able to oblige this inſolent and faithleſs Enemy by Force of Arms, to reſtore the Provinces he had ſo unjuſtly taken in his Poſſeſſion; conſidering beſides that his Majeſty was at that time already very much ſtreightened by the War with the King of *Poland*, and by the Irruption of the Army under the Command of his Son, Prince *Vladiſlaus*, who had advanced into the very Heart of *Ruſſia*: They were obliged to endeavour at leaſt to free the City of *Pleskow* of the Siege, to recover *Novogorod* with the Territory belonging to it out of the Hands of thoſe Uſurpers, and to make their Maſter eaſy at leaſt on one Side. With this View, they deſired the Engliſh Ambaſſador to repair to the Swediſh Ambaſſadors at *Ladoga*, and to uſe his beſt Endeavours to perſuade them to a Congreſs and Conference with them: But on all Events, and in caſe the *Swedes* ſhould perſiſt in their Obſtinacy and refuſe it, they authorized him to diſpoſe them himſelf to ſome favourable Terms. Among others, they recommended to him, to prevail with

the

the Swediſh Ambaſſadors to conſent that all the Provinces which *Sweden* had taken from the Crown of *Ruſſia*, might be reſtored to his Czariſh Majeſty for a reaſonable Sum of Money; and in caſe the whole could not be obtained, he then might yield up part of the ſaid Provinces, provided however that at leaſt the City and Province of *Novogorod*, and the Province of *Ingria* as far as the River *Seſtra*, ſhould be reſtored; which latter being a Province ſituate on the *Baltick*, by which *Ruſſia* was to maintain a Communication with other European Powers, was already at that time looked upon as an eſſential Part of the Ruſſian Crown; and therefore a conſiderable Sum of Money was offered them for it on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty. With this Commiſſion the Ambaſſador of *Great Britain* went to the Swediſh Ambaſſadors, and though he propoſed the ſaid Conditions to them in ſeveral different ways, yet it was to no Effect, for the *Swedes* knowing the weak Condition the Ruſſian Empire was in, were reſolved to lay hold of ſo favourable an Opportunity, and obſtinately perſiſted in their Pretenſions, threatning withal that not only they would break off the Negotiations, but alſo march with a powerful Army into *Ruſſia*, which already was ravaged by ſo many domeſtick and foreign Enemies. And ſo his Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors ſaw themſelves under an abſolute Neceſſity, in order to ſave their own Countrey from the impending utter Ruin, to conſent to a prejudicial and forced Peace, by which they yielded up to the King of *Sweden*, the aboveſaid Provinces *Ingria* and *Carelia* with the Fortreſſes *Ivanogorod*, *Iambourg*,

bourg, *Coporia*, and *Nöteboürg* and all the Territories thereto belonging, as alſo the Iſlands on the Mouth of the River *Neva*; being obliged to content themſelves with the Reſtitution of the City of *Novogorod*, and the raiſing of the Siege of *Pleskow*, and to pay beſides to the Crown of *Sweden* a conſiderable Sum of Money. The *Swedes* being convinced in their Conſcience, that by the like unjuſt Means they had wreſted from *Ruſſia* and annexed to their Kingdom the Provinces of *Livonia* and *Eſthonia*, which formerly partly had belonged to the Dominions of the Czars of *Ruſſia*, partly had been under their Protection and paid Tribute to them; they ſtipulated in this Treaty, and made the Ruſſian Ambaſſadors conſent to it, that *Ruſſia* ſhould reſign all its Pretenſions to the ſaid Provinces. This extorted Treaty was concluded between the two Parties, by the Mediation of the Ambaſſador of *England*, on the 27th of *February*, 1616, in the Village of *Stolbowa*, between *Ladoga* and *Tichwin*. In this manner the Crown of *Sweden* became poſſeſſed of the foreſaid Provinces, contrary to all Equity and Charity, and againſt ſo many Pacifications and Defenſive Alliances, to the irreparable Damage of the Ruſſian Empire and the whole Nation, not only with relation to Trade, but, what was of the greateſt Importance, by cutting them off from the Communication with all the States of *Europe*: After which the ſaid Crown, as a perpetual and inveterate Enemy of *Ruſſia*, has at all times endeavoured, to keep this Nation in perpetual Blindneſs and Ignorance with regard to military as well as civil Arts and Sciences, and to hinder

them from attaining any Experience by the Intercourſe with other European Nations. All the World knows, what Maxims and Politicks their late celebrated Great Chancellor, Count *Oxenſtiern*, recommended to the Swediſh Kings, which doubtleſs he himſelf had learnt from the old Swediſh State Maxims, of which particularly *Pufendorf* in his *Introduction to Hiſtory* makes mention, *viz.* that the Ruſſians being ſo powerful a Nation ought by all means to be kept out of all warlike Exerciſes and Experience, that they might not come to know their own Strength. From the above Circumſtances all the World may judge, with what Right the Crown of *Sweden* has obtained the Poſſeſſion of his Czariſh Majeſty's Dominions *Ingria* and *Cartlia* and the Places thereto belonging; and every one who is not blinded by Paſſion and Animoſity, will eaſily conclude and confeſs, that his Czariſh Majeſty *Peter* I. has in Truth had rightful Cauſes, ſupported by all the Laws of the World, to recover thoſe Provinces, which, with the greateſt Injuſtice and in Breach of all the Pacifications and Defenſive Alliances confirmed by ſolemn Oaths, had been torn off and extorted from his Empire, and by forcible Poſſeſſion withheld for near one hundred Years; and that in due Satisfaction for the Damage thereby occaſioned, and for the Revenues and Contributions drawn out of them for ſo many Years, he was intitled to ſeize on other Provinces, likewiſe unlawfully taken in Poſſeſſion by *Sweden*; the rather becauſe his Czariſh Majeſty had a reaſonable Opportunity of enforcing the rightful Pretenſions of his Predeceſſors to the Provinces

Provinces of *Livonia* and *Eſthonia*, which were far better grounded and much more juſt, than thoſe of *Sweden*, which had no other Foundation than Force and a pretended Reaſon of War. For, it does not appear as yet, that *Sweden* has the leaſt Right to them; a particular Proof of which is, that when ſeveral Treaties were eſtabliſhed between their former Czariſh Majeſties of glorious Memory and the Kings of *Sweden*, the latter made it their chief Care to induce the Czars of *Ruſſia* to renounce their old Pretenſions to the ſaid Provinces; though there was not the leaſt mention made on thoſe Occaſions what true and rightful Pretenſions the *Swedes* themſelves had to thoſe Provinces. Should any body object in Juſtification of *Sweden*, that the ſaid Provinces having been yielded up to *Sweden* by a formal Treaty with *Ruſſia*, it was not juſt to take the ſame from them again in violation of the ſaid Treaty; I anſwer, that even ſuppoſing his Czariſh Majeſty had had no new Cauſes weighty enough for beginning a War with *Sweden*, yet there were ancient Cauſes for it, ſufficiently juſtifiable by the Laws of Nature and Nations, beyond all Reproaches of Conſcience; Nay, he even was obliged as the Father of his Country, to recover on a fair Opportunity the Hereditary Dominions wreſted from his Crown in ſo unjuſt a manner and in violation of the perpetual Pacification and Defenſive Alliance made out of free Will and without any Conſtraint; he was obliged to reunite to his Crown by his juſt Arms a Property, of which it had been robbed by Fraud and all ſorts of unfair Means, at a time when the Ruſſian

Empire was at a very low Ebb and on the Brink of Ruin: More, he was obliged to carry his Pretenſions beyond that, to obtain Satisfaction for the Damage and Injuries his Crown had ſuffered. Let every private Man reaſon with himſelf on this Subject. If one falls among Robbers, and is not only ſtript by them of all that he has about him, but even by Threats of Death, frightened into a Promiſe to deliver to them the reſt of what he is worth, and that in order to ſave his Life, he engages upon Oath and by a Bond, that he freely reſigns all to them, and will never make any Pretenſions to it again; can he be charged with Injuſtice, when on a proper Opportunity, ſeeing himſelf ſafe and at liberty, he calls thoſe Robbers before a Judge, and not only ſues them for what they robbed him of, but alſo demands more than he loſt, in ſatisfaction for his Fright and Wounds, and even inſiſts, that the Robbers, according to the Laws, be puniſhed with Death: In this Caſe will any equitable Judge or any Law condemn the offended Perſon for Perjury or Breach of his Bond; will they not rather declare all that has been tranſacted on ſuch account, to be void and null, and on the contrary, inflict condign Puniſhment, to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, on the Robbers? Surely no body can contradict this with any Colour of Right and Reaſon. But as great Princes in this World have no Superior over them, but Almighty God, the great and ſupreme Judge, who according to his Long-ſufferance commonly puniſhes in the other World Tranſgreſſions committed here below; every Monarch is bound

bound to defend with Arms and Force his Right and Dominions, which he only holds of God, and to oppoſe Force to Force on proper Occaſions, as this has been obſerved ever ſince the Beginning of the World, and will be to the End of it. It was for theſe Conſiderations, that his preſent Czariſh Majeſty's Father, the Czar *Alexius Michaelowitz* of glorious Memory, reſolved in the Year 1656 to make War againſt the King of *Sweden Charles Guſtavus*, to revenge the Damage and other Injuries the *Ruſſian* Empire had ſuffered from *Sweden* in the time of his Predeceſſors and his Father: He had already made himſelf Maſter of the Fortreſs of *Dôrpt* and ſome other Towns in *Livonia*, but the War with *Poland* and inteſtine Troubles interrupted his Succeſſes, and obliged him to make another prejudicial Peace with the Crown of *Sweden*, by which he reſtored the aboveſaid Places. Now, though all the ancient Cauſes above related, would have been weighty and urging enough for *Ruſſia* to begin a War againſt the Crown of *Sweden*, yet his Czariſh Majeſty's equitable Mind did not permit him to do it, had not *Sweden* given new Cauſes for it; he ſacredly and inviolably obſerved a Peace extorted from his Predeceſſors, and he choſe rather to employ his Arms againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the conſtant Enemies of Chriſtendom, than to embrue them with Chriſtian Blood in revenging paſt Injuries. But God's juſt Judgement, who ſuffers no Injuſtice to go unpuniſhed, hardened the Hearts of the *Swedes*, and gave them over to ſuch a Blindneſs, that they themſelves blew up the Fire of old Offences and Injuries, which ſeemed

buried under the Ashes of Time and Oblivion, by a new Insult offered to his Czarish Majesty's own high Person, which happened in the manner I am going to relate.

II.

New Causes, for which the War was begun.

WE are persuaded that all *Europe*, and even the most remote Nations cannot but know, that his Czarish Majesty *Peter* I. now happily reigning, led by his own natural good Understanding and Curiosity, took a Resolution contrary to the Custom and Maxims formerly established in *Russia*, to view other civilized States of *Europe*, which neither his Majesty himself nor any of his Predecessors had ever seen before: His Design was to learn on this Occasion by his own Experience the Constitutions of their publick Affairs, Civil as well as Military, with an Intent afterwards to introduce their Method in his own extensive Empire; as also by his own Example to excite his Subjects to view foreign Countries, acquire noble Sentiments, and learn the Languages necessary for that Purpose.

The better to attain this End, his Majesty appointed a Grand Embassy to be sent to those respective States. General-Admiral *Francis Le Fort* was nominated first Ambassador; the Privy-Councellor and at that time General Commissary of War, *Fedor Golowin*, was the second, and the Secretary of State *Procophej Wosnitzin*, the third. His Czarish

Majeſty reſolved to travel in his own high Perſon though incognito among the Retinue of this Embaſſy, and accordingly ſet out with them from *Moskow*, the Place of his former Reſidence, on the 19th of March 1697.

To prevent any Suſpicion which this Deſign might give to the King of *Sweden*, as a neighbouring Power, through whoſe Dominions his Czariſh Majeſty was to paſs in the Retinue of the ſaid Embaſſy, he took Care that he might be informed of his intended Journey, by acquainting with it *Thomas von Knipercron* the Swediſh Commiſſary, (who then reſided at *Moskow*, provided with Credential Letters from the King of *Sweden*, and was afterwards nominated the King's Reſident there) to the End that he might not only make his Intentions known to the King his Maſter, but alſo give Notice of this Journey to the Governors and Officers commanding on the Frontiers; it was declared to him at the ſame time, that his Czariſh Majeſty did not deſire any ſuperfluous Ceremonies as due to his own Perſon, but only a ſecure and free Paſſage among the Retinue of the Embaſſy, and that they might be reſpected and received according to their Character, and entertained conformably to the neighbourly Friendſhip and the Treaties ſubſiſting between them.

This the ſaid Commiſſary promiſed to perform: He attended his Czariſh Majeſty on his departure from *Moskow*, and required the Swediſh Reſidents at *Novogorod* and *Pleskow* by Letters, to wait on his Czariſh Majeſty over the Frontiers, and to give Notice to the Commiſſaries whom the Governor-General

of *Riga* Count *Dahlberg* ſhould ſend to meet the Embaſſy, that his Czariſh Majeſty was among them, which accordingly they did.

Yet though Notification was made of it to the ſaid Governor-General, he not only ſhewed no extraordinary Civility on account of his Czariſh Majeſty's being perſonally preſent, but even he made not the leaſt Preparations for receiving and convoying the ſaid Embaſſy purſuant to the Duty incumbent on him by virtue of the Treaty. The Cuſtom, and the Agreements formerly made between *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, required in ſome meaſure, that the Ambaſſadors and Envoys of both Sides, though ſent through their reſpective Dominions to other Powers, ſhould be received on the Frontiers with all poſſible Marks of Honour, and upon Demand be furniſhed in the reſpective Dominions with Relays, as alſo on the paſſing over Lakes and Rivers with the neceſſary Veſſels without paying for them; that out of reciprocal Civility their Expences ſhould be defrayed in every particular; and that in the principal Towns the Governors and Commanders ſhould honour them with their Complements and Viſits. But the ſaid Governor-General neglecting his Duty towards ſuch an illuſtrious Embaſſy as to the foreſaid Particulars, only ſent one *Von Glaſenappen*, a Gentleman of an ordinary Family, to meet them on the Frontiers, and to continue with the Ambaſſadors on the Road, to keep a ſtrict Eye over them and their People, particularly on that part of their Retinue, among whom his Czariſh Majeſty was in his own high Perſon, with other Noblemen as Voluntiers, to obſerve their whole Conduct and

 Behaviour,

Behaviour, and as it were to keep them under a civil Arreſt.

The Ambaſſadors remonſtrated to him not to be ſo troubleſome to the ſaid Perſons, who were Volontiers of great Diſtinction travelling with the Embaſſy; they even gave him plainly to underſtand, that his Czariſh Majeſty was in his own high Perſon among them; but he anſwered, that he was obliged ſo to do by the Governor's Orders, who therein acted by the King his Maſter's Command. In ſhort, the whole Retinue met with ſuch indifferent Accommodation every where in *Livonia*, that they were obliged not only to travel on with their own Horſes, without changing them, but alſo to take up at the moſt miſerable Inns; and as there was no Diſpoſition made on the whole Road, they could ſcarcely get the neceſſary Proviſions and Forage for the ſubſiſting and maintaining of their People and Horſes for ready Money; and whatever Proviſions were with the greateſt difficulty bought up Sideways in the Country and carried to them, were to be paid for double and treble the value. At firſt they were of Opinion this proceeded from the ſimplicity and ill manners of the Commiſſary, hoping that on their arrival at *Riga*, the Governor himſelf would, as he ought to do, excuſe ſuch a Neglect, and give better Orders for the future: But they found themſelves greatly miſtaken. For the Embaſſy on their arrival at *Riga* were not received with any extraordinary Marks of Honour, they even were not treated with that Regard which is due to Envoys, for they were received and complemented, not by the Governor himſelf, but

only by the Magiſtrates and Burghers of *Riga*. What moſt ſurprized them, was, that they were not allowed to lodge in the Town; they had poor wooden Houſes aſſigned them in the Suburbs, and Intimation was made to them, that they themſelves ought to agree with the Landlords about them; all which was directly contrary to the ancient Cuſtoms and Conventions.

Strong Guards were placed near the ſaid Houſes and all over the Suburbs; the Guards of Soldiers and Militia in the Town and Citadel were reinforced; even Out-guards were placed on the Counterſcarp and on the Outſide of the Paliſadoes, and Horſe patrolled with ſuch Exactneſs, as if the Enemy had been before the Town.

The Ambaſſadors ſent ſome Perſon on their part to the Governor to notify their arrival, and at the ſame time to deſire him, that he would uſe them conformably to the neighbourly Friendſhip, ancient Cuſtoms and Treaties, and permit their Servants freely to enter the Town for buying Neceſſaries; they further deſired, that ſeeing the Winter Seaſon and travelling with Sleds was over, and that they muſt provide themſelves with Waggons inſtead of Sleds, he would give Leave to get them made by the proper Mechanicks in the Town, and to permit ſuch Perſons as ſhould be belated on that occaſion, to ſtay that Night in the Town. But the Governor, on pretence of being indiſpoſed for Grief on account of the Death of his Daughter, hardly admitted the Perſon that was ſent, to his Preſence, and afterwards ſent him Word by a third Perſon, with a cold Complement

plement to this Effect, That his Indiſpoſition occaſioned by Affliction, would not allow him to pay the Viſit to the Ambaſſadors; that as for what they deſired, he would indeed give Leave to their Servants to enter the Town for the Diſpatch of their neceſſary Buſineſs, however conſidering the Place was a Frontier Fortreſs, he was obliged by the Maxims of War to uſe all poſſible Circumſpection, and conſequently could not allow above ſix Ruſſians at once to come within the Fortifications, where for the greater Security, they ſhould be accompanied by a Guard, and that he hoped, they would make ſevere Inhibition to their People not to view the Fortifications or to approach the Ramparts, otherwiſe he would find himſelf obliged to keep them off by Force.

Upon ſuch a ſtrange Declaration made by the Governor, the Ambaſſadors ſent to ask him, for what Reaſon he uſed them in ſuch a manner contrary to the Laws of all Nations, and what Suſpicion he could entertain of their Retinue conſiſting only of a few Perſons? That he knowing well enough there were many of Diſtinction among them, might eaſily be perſuaded, that if they had had ſiniſter Intentions, they would not after ſuch a rate go upon Adventures. But he returned Anſwer, that he had many Reaſons to ſuſpect them, thereby inſinuating as if he had been warned, that they were come under the Pretext of an Embaſſy to execute a certain ſecret Deſign; immediately after which he gave Orders that none of their Retinue ſhould be allowed to go into the Town, unleſs attended by a Guard of two armed Soldiers,

they were even every one of them viſited upon the Bridges and at the Gates, and none was permitted to ſtay above two Hours in the Town. His Czariſh Majeſty himſelf, to ſatisfy his Curioſity, being pleaſed to go with ſome Perſons to view the Town, was fain to ſubmit to walk under the like Guard, though every body knew him; he was worſe uſed than any of the others, and had leſs time allowed him to ſtay in the Town.

Moreover, it once happened that his Czariſh Majeſty, to content that Paſſion which all the World knows he has for Navigation, had a Mind to go down the River with ſome of his Retinue to the Dutch Ships that lay there, in order to view them, and to hire one of them to purſue his Journey; he went that way which leads from the Ambaſſadors Quarters to the Sea, *viz.* from *Charles-Gate* on the right Hand through the Suburbs, which Way though in ſome Places it touches at the furthermoſt End of the Counterſcarp, yet was a free Paſſage for every body. Notwithſtanding which the Guards who by Order of the Governor were placed on the Rampart, as alſo the aboveſaid extraordinary Out-guards, ſtopt them by great Out-cries and Threats, ſome even preſented their Fire-Arms and offered to fire in caſe they ſhould attempt to approach the Fortifications. But when it was objected to them, that the ſaid Way (which to this Day is paſſed at the ſame Place, and may be a Teſtimony to the Curious) was open to every body, and that if they had any Exception, and abſolutely would ſuffer no body to paſs there, they ought to ſhew another Way; they at length after much

much Difficulty ſuffered them to go by, not being able to ſhew them another Paſſage. This was not all: The Governor ſignified to the Ambaſſadors, and complained with great Vehemence, that ſuch and ſuch Perſons, pointing out thoſe who were of his Czariſh Majeſty's Retinue, had purpoſely taken that Way, to obſerve the Fortifications, of which they had already made a Draught; threatening withal, that if for the future they ſhould offer the ſame again, he would give Orders to fire upon them; he knowing but too well, what was their Deſign.

The Ambaſſadors replied to theſe imaginary Complaints, that if any of their People ſhould be found on the ſaid ſuſpected Places, he might cauſe them to be ſecured, and ſend Notice to them, in which caſe they would give him due Satisfaction. This being agreeable to Juſtice, the Governor had nothing further to object, however, he immediately after gave Orders to reinforce the Guards in the Suburbs not only near the Ambaſſadors Quarters, but alſo near thoſe of his Czariſh Majeſty, and they from that time began to treat the Embaſſy with ſuch hard Uſage, that his Majeſty had reaſon to apprehend greater and worſe Conſequences in relation to his own high Perſon.

He therefore found it adviſeable, not to expect the arrival of the reſt of the Ambaſſadors who had ſtayed behind, but the ſooner the better to retire with a few Perſons from among that hoſtile Nation, the rather becauſe the Ambaſſadors had been warned by ſome well-meaning Foreigners, that the Governor, having ſufficient Information of his Czariſh

Majeſty's

Majeſty's Preſence, was ſeeking an Occaſion on any Pretence to ſeize him, or even to make ſome ſiniſter Attempt againſt his own high Perſon; for which reaſon he had forbidden to carry any body of his Majeſty's Retinue over the River *Duna*. This neceſſitated his Majeſty to hire two foreign Boats newly arrived, and to pay near thirty Ducats for each time they croſſed over. And ſo he paſſed the River notwithſtanding the great quantity of Ice that was then floating in it, and proceeded for *Mitau*, there to wait the arrival of the Ambaſſadors, who by reaſon of their numerous Retinue, and the Preparations for their Equipage, were obliged to continue a few Days longer near *Riga*, and to endure a great deal more ill Uſage and Vexation from the ſaid Governor and the Burghers of *Riga*. Their Servants being not permitted to enter the Town, or even to approach the Gates, were every where followed by a Guard like Priſoners, entirely at the Diſcretion of the Soldiers; they were obliged to pay ten times the value for all ſorts of Neceſſaries; and as they had occaſion to ſell many of the Horſes belonging to their Retinue, they could not ſo much as obtain Liberty for it, but were obliged to give them to the Officers and Soldiers almoſt for nothing: If any of them wanted but an indifferent Peaſant's Waggon, to the value of two or three Rixdollars at beſt, they were fain to give twenty and thirty for it, and over and above obliged to pay a high Duty for all that they bought or ſold, contrary to all Treaties; and if any ſpoke againſt it, or that they had ſome Words or Diſputes with the Inhabitants, as could hardly

hardly be avoided, they were loaded with the moſt intolerable Affronts, beaten, and contrary to the Law of all Nations, taken into Cuſtody, where they were kept for ſome Days. And though the Ambaſſadors ſent a Perſon to complain of it to the Governor, yet he not only took no Notice of it or offered the leaſt Satisfaction, but even laid all the Fault on the Ambaſſadors People themſelves. Laſt of all, when the Ambaſſadors were ready to depart, they were forced to pay for the tranſporting of each Perſon, Horſe and Waggon over the *Duna*, four times the Price that Merchants uſually give.

They endured many other Affronts from the Governor, which in all reaſon he ought to have ſcrupled to offer even to the worſt of Enemies, inveſted with the like Character; to relate all which is impoſſible, and beſides would only tire the Reader's Patience.

His Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, upon their arrival at the Court of *Pruſſia*, publiſhed all the offenſive Uſage they had met with, as above related, they proteſted againſt it, and afterwards when they were arrived in *Holland*, remonſtrated it to the Swediſh Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, *Von-Lilienroth*, by his Czariſh Majeſty's Order, in an Enterview, and required him, to make Report of it to his Swediſh Majeſty, adding, that his Czariſh Majeſty entertained firm Hopes, the King his Maſter would by no means approve of his Governor's Conduct, but rather take care according to his wonted Equity that ſufficient Satisfaction be made for it to his Czariſh Majeſty.

The Swediſh Ambaſſador not only promiſed to make Report of it, but alſo aſſured, that

that the King his Maſter would infallibly give all due Satisfaction to his Czariſh Majeſty, in conformity with that neighbourly Friendſhip ſubſiſting between them. However thoſe Promiſes were never performed, nor was there even ſo much as once an Anſwer returned by the Swediſh Court; on the contrary they added from time to time new Offences to thoſe that were paſt.

Beſides this, his Czariſh Majeſty during his Stay in *England*, was warned by the Court, not to paſs through the Swediſh Territories, and Intimations were given him, that he had great Dangers to apprehend for his own high Perſon: The King of *Great Britain* himſelf offered to his Czariſh Majeſty a Convoy by Sea to *Archangel*, in caſe he ſhould not think it ſafe to travel by Land. All which proved well grounded in the Event. For after his Czariſh Majeſty's Arrival in the City of his Reſidence, the Ambaſſador *Procophej Woſnitzin*, who had left the Grand Embaſſy, and had been ſent to *Carlowitz*, to conclude a Peace with the *Turks*, being on his Return by the way of *Riga*, was there again greatly inſulted and affronted; and ſome Baggage Waggons having been taken from him in a violent manner and almoſt in publick, the ſaid Governor of *Riga* not only would not give him the leaſt Satisfaction, or take the leaſt Trouble, when required, to recover the Goods that the Ambaſſador was robbed of, or even make Enquiry after it, but refuſed it in a moſt uncivil and inhuman manner.

In the 1699 the King of *Sweden* ſent an extraordinary Embaſſy to notify to his Czariſh Majeſty his Acceſſion to his Father's Throne, and

and at the ſame time to require his Czariſh Majeſty, purſuant to former Conventions and the ancient Cuſtom, to confirm the perpetual Pacification with the Solemnity of taking an Oath on the Holy Goſpel, as it was uſual at that Time, and ought to be done by Virtue of the Treaties. On this Occaſion not only the Ruſſian Miniſters, by his Czariſh Majeſty's Orders, inſinuated to the Swediſh Ambaſſadors in the Conferences they had with them, but even his Czariſh Majeſty himſelf declared to them by Word of Mouth at their Audience of Leave, That his Majeſty was perfectly inclined ſacredly to obſerve the Treaties eſtabliſhed by his Predeceſſors, provided no Hoſtilities were committed againſt him on the part of *Sweden*, and ſufficient Satisfaction made for the Affront and Offences given to his Czariſh Majeſty and his Grand Embaſſy, by Count *Dahlberg*, Governor-General of *Riga*, which his Czariſh Majeſty moſt inſtantly demanded of his Swediſh Majeſty. And in Teſtimony of the Truth and Ground of all the Complaints alledged againſt the ſaid *Dahlberg*, his Czariſh Majeſty engaged his Czariſh Word, which he alſo himſelf delivered in Writing to the ſaid Ambaſſadors, in the Great Chancellor *Golowin*'s Houſe, with this expreſs Addition, that if any of his Czariſh Majeſty's Servants ſhould preſume to offer the like Affront and Vexation to his Swediſh Majeſty's Perſon, his Czariſh Majeſty would infallibly give ſuch effectual Satisfaction as ſhould be deſired, and that the Offender ſhould even pay for it with his Life. His Czariſh Majeſty deſired the Ambaſſadors at the ſame time to make Report to his Swediſh Ma-

jeſty by Word of Mouth of his Czariſh Majeſty's Demand: That as for their other Commiſſions, they ſhould be acquainted with his Reſolution by his Miniſters at the enſuing Conferences. Accordingly they declared by his Czariſh Majeſty's Command to the Ambaſſadors, that his Majeſty had ordered them to be diſmiſſed with this Reſolution: That his Czariſh Majeſty was very willing and ready to confirm the Pacification, and purſuant to the former Treaties to ratify it upon Oath, on condition however, if his Majeſty firſt obtained Satisfaction with relation to Count *Dahlberg*, nor would his Majeſty perform what is aboveſaid, before that was done: And ſo they were ſent back to the King their Maſter, with an Anſwer in Writing to the King's Letter, and a Copy of the former Treaty, though not ſigned as uſual; however with this Aſſurance, that as ſoon as the foreſaid Satisfaction was performed, his Czariſh Majeſty would ſend an extraordinary Embaſſy with the uſual Ratification: but if contrary to all Expectation the ſaid Satisfaction ſhould be neglected, his Czariſh Majeſty would be neceſſitated to take other Meaſures for obtaining it. With this Expedition the Ambaſſadors returned to the King their Maſter, after having aſſured the Court, that there was no doubt to be made but every thing would be done to their entire Content.

His Czariſh Majeſty waited with Patience above a Year for the ſaid Satisfaction, and at ſeveral times cauſed the Court of *Sweden* to be put in mind of it, not only by their Reſident *Thomas Knipercron*, but alſo by his own Miniſters reſiding at foreign Courts, remonſtrating

ſtrating what dangerous Conſequences might enſue, if it ſhould be neglected: He alſo cauſed his Ambaſſadors at the *Hague* to propoſe to their High-Mightineſſes the States General, to employ their good Offices with the King of *Sweden*, to obtain equitable Satisfaction, that his Majeſty might not be neceſſitated to ſeek it himſelf: Yet all this was to no Effect, on the contrary his Czariſh Majeſty found to his Surprize that the King of *Sweden*, ſlighting all his Complaints againſt the foreſaid Governour, had taken a quite oppoſite Reſolution; for in the Year 1700, the King ſent a Letter to his Reſident at *Moskow*, *Thomas Knipercron*, ordering him (juſt as if he was deciding a Law Suit, and pronouncing Sentence between two of his Subjects) to declare to his Majeſty in very unuſual Expreſſions, to this or the like Effect: "That being "informed by his Ambaſſadors after their Re"turn from *Moskow*, of the Complaints "made by his Czariſh Majeſty himſelf againſt "the Governor General of *Riga*, he had given "Orders to the ſaid Governor to ſend in his "Juſtification in Writing; but the latter "having been hindered by the Apprehenſion "of an Attempt againſt the Frontier Places in "*Livonia*, to be undertaken, as was pretend"ed, by the King of *Poland's* Forces, the "ſaid Juſtification had been for a long while "retarded; but the ſame being at length ar"rived, the King thereby found his Gover"nor General abſolutely innocent, and that "his Czariſh Majeſty's Complaints and "Charge againſt him were unjuſt and with"out Ground; that therefore he, the Reſi"dent, ſhould deliver this Reſolution in Wri"ting

" ting on the Part of his Swediſh Majeſty, " in Anſwer to the Demands made formerly " by his Czariſh Majeſty." Purſuant to this Order the ſaid Reſident delivered a Memorial at his Czariſh Majeſty's Chancery of State and Embaſſies, with a Copy of the King's Letter joyned to it, the Original of which under the King's Hand and Seal, he produced upon the Demand of his Czariſh Majeſty's Miniſters.

And here his Czariſh Majeſty was ſufficiently convinced of the King of *Sweden*'s hoſtile Intentions, and that the ſaid Governor had acted by the King's Will and Order.

Beſides this, there appeared many other Intrigues, which were carried on by the Swediſh Party againſt his Czariſh Majeſty at the *Ottoman Porte*, which they endeavoured to perſuade to a Rupture with his Czariſh Majeſty after the Expiration of the Truce of two Years concluded at *Carlowitz*, and to thwart the Negotiation which his Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors at the *Porte* were at that time carrying on for prolonging the ſaid Truce. Among others who were employed in theſe Machinations, was the Poliſh Ambaſſador then reſiding at the *Porte*, and General of *Great Poland*, *Lezczynsky*, Father to the famous *Staniſlaus Lezczynsky*. Mean while their Daniſh and Poliſh Majeſties applied to his Czariſh Majeſty, by ſending ſeveral Miniſters, who were *M. Heinſius*, Councellor of State, on the Part of *Denmark*; Major General *Carlowitz*, M. *Patkul* Privy Councellor of War, and afterwards Lieutenant General *Lange*, on the Part of *Poland*: They were to negotiate an Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive in order to declare War againſt the Crown of *Sweden*,

den, as an inveterate Enemy and Adverſary of all three Crowns; they were to acquaint his Czariſh Majeſty at the ſame time, that for their common Defence, and to maintain the Security of their reſpective Kingdoms, they had already concluded an Alliance among themſelves. His Czariſh Majeſty therefore, directed by common Prudence, and reflecting on the Injuries which ever ſince the moſt ancient Times his Predeceſſors had ſuffered from the former Kings of *Sweden*, and the repeated Affronts his Czariſh Majeſty himſelf had received from the preſent King, *Charles* XII. judged to have ſufficient Cauſe to enter into the Alliance propoſed by their Daniſh and Poliſh Majeſties, and to declare War againſt the King of *Sweden*. Accordingly a Declaration of it was made in form to the Swediſh Reſident at *Moskow*, *Knipercron*, to make Report of it to his Maſter, and at the ſame time he was told that within a Month he was to depart the City, and afterwards the Ruſſian Dominions, and to return to *Sweden*.

His Czariſh Majeſty alſo ſent Orders to his Reſident at the Swediſh Court, the *Knees Chilkow*, to notify to them the ſaid Declaration of War, and the Reaſons which had given Occaſion to it, and then to retire from thence. His Czariſh Majeſty ſent the like Orders to his Miniſters reſiding at foreign Courts, eſpecially to his Miniſter at the *Hague*, to acquaint with it not only the Aſſembly of the States, but alſo the Miniſters of the other neutral Powers reſiding there, and expreſſly to declare, that his Czariſh Majeſty was ready notwithſtanding, to come to an Agreement with *Sweden*, if that Crown was

desirous of it, and would give Satisfaction to his Czarish Majesty and his Allies in their just Pretensions. And thus the War began between his Czarish Majesty and the Crown of *Sweden*.

We firmly hope, that no unprejudiced Person, who considers the Causes ancient and modern, as above related, will judge otherwise, than that this War was perfectly just, and that his Czarish Majesty could not avoid declaring it, both on account of the Interest and Advantage of his own Dominions, and in order to revenge the Offences and Affronts offered to his own high Person, for which he could never obtain the least Satisfaction from the King of *Sweden*.

ARTICLE II.

Which shews, that not at all his Czarish Majesty, but only his Majesty the King of Sweden *himself, is the Cause and Author of the long Continuance of the War, the Effusion of so much humane Blood, and the Ruin of so many Provinces.*

THIS can so much the easier be made out, seeing it is notorious not only to all the civilized part of the World, but even to Barbarians and Turks, how implacable the King of *Sweden* was in pursuing his Designs, and how he always rejected the Proposals for Peace which had been made not only on his Czarish Majesty's part, but also by other

Powers. Whereas on the contrary his Czariſh Majeſty, on all Occaſions ever ſince the beginning of the War, was inclined to come to an Accommodation with his Swediſh Majeſty, and teſtified his Readineſs by making repeated Offers. To diſcharge the Promiſe which we made at the beginning of this Treatiſe, we ſhall enter into the Particulars of this Affair.

When his Czariſh Majeſty, after the Declaration of War, as abovementioned, expreſſed his Diſpoſition for an Accommodation, by his Miniſter reſiding at the *Hague*, not only to their High Mightineſſes the States-General, but alſo to the Miniſters of other Powers; his Britannick Majeſty in a Letter, and their High Mightineſſes by their Reſident, offered their reſpective Mediation to his Czariſh Majeſty. He declared his Condeſcenſion to the States-General by their Reſident M. *Vander Hulſt*, and by his own Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, not only before *Narva* was formally beſieged, but alſo after the unfortunate Battle which happened near *Narva* between his Czariſh Majeſty's Army and that of the King of *Sweden*, deſiring only a categorical Anſwer from the King of *Sweden* relating to the aboveſaid Satisfaction. But what Diſpoſition the King of *Sweden* ſhewed for it on his Side, *England* and *Holland* can beſt witneſs, who propoſed the ſaid Mediation; for the King of *Sweden*'s Obſtinacy would not permit him to give them the leaſt Reſolution to be communicated to his Czariſh Majeſty.

It is no wonder, his Swediſh Majeſty, being a young Prince, flushed with a Victory ſo unexpectedly obtained, thought he had

ſome Reaſons, to reject thoſe Offers. That Battle had made him look on the Czar's Forces as raw Men haſtily raiſed and at a venture, unexerciſed and without military Experience, nor could he imagine that after ſuch an Overthrow they would ſo eaſily be put upon a better foot. This made him neglect the Maxim formerly eſtabliſhed by the celebrated Swediſh Miniſter, Count *Oxenſtiern*, and to think it moſt adviſeable to continue the War againſt the Ruſſian Empire; for his Deſign was no leſs than entirely to deſtroy it, and to pave the Way for the Execution of it by ruining the King of *Poland*, his Czariſh Majeſty's Ally. With this View he went to attack him, paſſed the *Duna*, and by the French Miniſter's Intrigues at the Poliſh Court, effectuated ſo much, that the Saxon Army and the Ruſſian Auxiliaries were obliged to abandon almoſt without making Reſiſtance, a Poſt they had poſſeſſed themſelves of on the *Duna*. But as this is foreign to our Deſign, we will paſs it over in ſilence.

The King of *Sweden* being thus become Maſter of an Inlet into the Kingdom of *Poland*, was firmly reſolved, to penetrate into the Heart of it, and to dethrone his Poliſh Majeſty, his near Relation. He abſolutely rejected all Conditions of Peace propoſed to him by the Imperial and French Miniſters, and the moſt advantageous Offers made to him by his Poliſh Majeſty in ſeveral Meſſages. His Czariſh Majeſty therefore ſeeing what implacable Enemy he had to deal with, and being beſides excited by the Loſs he had ſuſtained in the Battle of *Narva*, applied himſelf without Intermiſſion to recruit his Army

Army, and by the help of experienced Officers and good Diſcipline to enable them not only to make Head to good Effect againſt the Enemy, but alſo to continue the War offenſively till an honourable Peace be obtained, in order to make the King of *Sweden* ſenſible, that though he had cauſed his Czariſh Majeſty's principal Generals and Officers to be taken Priſoners near *Narva* and carried to *Stockholm*, in Breach of the Agreement that had been made by Word of Mouth, and confirmed by his own Parole, his Majeſty by the help of God, was nevertheleſs in a Condition to ſupport that War without them; as it ſufficiently appeared in the Event.

For at firſt his Czariſh Majeſty cauſed the Enemy's Troops in *Livonia* and *Eſthonia* to be haraſſed and ruined by divers Incurſions and Parties; and when Field-Marſhal General, Count *Sheremetow*, had twice defeated the Body under General *Schlippenbach*'s Command, we became Maſters of the Field in the ſaid two Provinces.

Soon after, when his Czariſh Majeſty had made all neceſſary Diſpoſitions in the Frontier Places and Fortreſſes, and wherever elſe it was requiſite, he marched himſelf at the Head of an Army, and firſt took the Fortreſs *Oreſtheck*, or *Nôtebourg*, at preſent called *Sleutelbourg*: In the Campaign following he took the Town *Nieſchantz*, and obſerving in the Neighbourhood a Situation convenient for a City and Fortreſs, not far from whence was an excellent Harbour, his Majeſty there founded St. *Petersbourg*, and made it the Place of his Reſidence. In the Year 1704, he made himſelf Maſter of *Dôrpt* and *Narva*,

and so got firm footing on the *Baltick*. Yet, notwithstanding those Advantages, his Czarish Majesty did not leave off in the mean time, jointly with his Polish Majesty, to make repeated Offers of Peace to the King of *Sweden*, by the Mediation of *England*, *Prussia* and *Holland*. However the King would not so much as hearken to them, but pursued his vast Designs, and after having made some Progress in *Poland*, and seeing that many Persons who had set aside their Allegiance to their lawful King, espoused his Party, he prevailed so far, that the said Party, contrary to the Right of all Nations, and without any weighty Reason, declared an Interregnum; upon which Cardinal *Radziewsky*, then Primate of the Kingdom, issued circular Letters to call an Assembly for a new Election. His Polish Majesty having lost a Battle near *Pintzow*, and thereupon desired Auxiliary Forces of his Czarish Majesty, he not only complied with his Desire, but also when he judged those Forces not sufficient, marched himself with new Succours to *Vilna* and *Gradno*.

As to what further ensued, and what fortunate and unfortunate Incidents happened on both Sides, that being an Affair foreign to our Design, we shall not enter into long Particulars, but leave it to other Historians.

However we ought to mention only so much: When the King of *Sweden*, without taking the least Notice of the Mediation offered to him by several Powers, and neglecting the wholesome Advice of his faithful Ministers, forced a few Persons of the aboveſaid Party addicted to his Interest, to proceed to the Election of a new King, which Choice was to

fall

fall on the Rebel *Stanislaus Leszczinsky*, late Waywode (or Palatin) of *Posen*, there appeared at that Election none, except his own Generals and Officers, and three or four of the Polish Senators, who were of the said Party. The King afterwards directed his March towards the Russian Forces that encamped near *Grodno*, but being made sensible that he was unable to match them, turned towards *Saxony*: All the Interpositions made by the Emperor as well as other Powers, could not prevail with him, but he made an Irruption into that Country, exhausted it by heavy Contributions, and threatened it with an entire Destruction, so that his Polish Majesty to prevent the utter Ruin of his hereditary Dominions, found himself at last necessitated to submit to all the Swedish Pretensions howsoever unreasonable, and to conclude a separate Peace with the King of *Sweden*; on which occasion the two famous Plenipotentiaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten*, being either corrupted, or else imposed upon, consented contrary to their Master's Intentions and Instructions, to many absurd and prejudicial Conditions.

His Polish Majesty was then obliged to ratify all this, in order to free his Dominions of the Oppression they were under, on Condition however that the King of *Sweden* should march with his Army out of *Saxony* before the Winter came on; nevertheless, they not only wintered there contrary to the Treaty, but even continued there during the ensuing Spring and Summer, and exhausted the Subjects by Contributions far more insupportable than those before the Peace. His

Czarish Majesty therefore seeing himself alone engaged in that War (for his Danish Majesty was forced by divers Powers by Sea and Land to conclude a Peace with the King of *Sweden*) caused new Offers for Peace to be made by M. *Bezenval*, Ambassador of *France* then residing at the Swedish Court, and sent Colonel *Morelle* a Frenchman, express thither with very favourable Conditions. He also took great Pains for the same End by his Ministers residing in *Holland* as well as in other Places, though his Army, by God's Assistance, was then already on a good Foot. But the King of *Sweden* not only refused hearkening to those Proposals, and his Ministers even returned a haughty and insolent Answer: The King their Master, said they, would not make Peace before he had entered the City of *Moskow*, and dethroned his Czarish Majesty; that then he would divide his whole Empire into small Principalities and Provinces, and in order to weaken the Power of *Russia*, oblige them by a Treaty to abolish the regular Forces and military Discipline which they had introduced at the Example of the rest of *Europe*, to reform the new fashioned Dress introduced by his Czarish Majesty for the Glory of his Nation, after the Custom of *Europe*, and to resume their old fashioned Habits and long Beards. They even published to the World and divulged far more wicked, malicious, and unheard of Designs against his Czarish Majesty's sacred Person, which their King was at that time said to intend to execute, the Particulars of which, being of so horrid and detestable a Nature, we scruple to commit to Paper.

The

The King of *Sweden* was even ſo confident his Deſigns could not fail of Succeſs, that he already began to diſpoſe of many Employments in the Ruſſian Empire in favour of his Generals in reward of their Services. A plain Inſtance of this was, that General *Spar*, when he was at *Berlin* at the Houſe of the Poliſh Crown-Treaſurer M. *de Rebender*, in a numerous Company, boaſted, that he had then juſt received from the King his Maſter, Letters Patent eſtabliſhing him Governor of the City of *Moskow*, which he actually produced: Some of the Company indeed congratulated him on that account, but others gave him to underſtand, that the long Way to *Moskow* and his Czariſh Majeſty's numerous Army in *Poland* might prove powerful Obſtacles to his taking Poſſeſſion of that Employment. But he repſied with that Haughtineſs, which at that time was uſual to them, and made them on all Occaſions break out into opprobrious Language, That they were able to drive the Ruſſian Rabble not only out of their own Country, but even out of the World, with no other Weapons but their Whips. Such ſcandalous Expreſſions his Czariſh Majeſty and the whole Ruſſian Nation were obliged not only to hear but alſo to read in publick Writings.

His Czariſh Majeſty however bore it all with an uncommon Moderation, and contented himſelf with ſaying in Jeſt on the like Occaſions in *Poland*, and in the Preſence of the foreign Miniſters: God may ſome time or other chaſtiſe them for their Inſolence and Pride, and give ſuch a Turn to Affairs, that our Ruſſian Forces may fight their main Army with

with the same Bravery they have already given divers Proofs of against some Bodies of Swedish Forces, which will not only put the *Swedes* themselves to the Blush for their contumelious Language, but also make them appear in the Eyes of the World as the worst sort of Rabble, who were vanquished by those whom they scornfully so called first: And this afterwards actually happened by God's Help and Assistance.

The King of *Sweden* having now inriched his military Cash with the Spoils of *Saxony*, and augmented his Army to the Number of fifty thousand Men, besides the Body under General *Lewenhaupt's* Command, and another under that of Major-General *Crassau*; his main Design upon his Arrival in *Poland*, was to bring his Czarish Majesty to a Battel. But his Czarish Majesty seeing what a powerful Enemy he had to deal with, judged it to be dangerous to venture upon a Battel in the midst of a foreign Nation, that was then without a Head, and distracted between divers Factions. He therefore thought it more for his Advantage, insensibly to withdraw with his Army from the Enemy towards the Frontiers of *Russia*, and to annoy them on his March, by well defending the Passes, by sending Parties against them, and particularly by frequent Skirmishes of his light Horse. Accordingly the several remarkable Actions he had with them on fitting Opportunities, as for instance, near *Dobro*, and other Places, began by degrees to beat down the Enemy's former Insolence and Haughtiness. This Method was pursued till the Enemy was already advanced as far as the Russian Frontiers, about

bout *Smolensko*, where he hoped to meet with many Adherents and Provisions as he had met with in *Poland*. But he found himself extremely mistaken in his Opinion, for being cut off from all Provisions, Part of which his Czarish Majesty had caused to be destroyed, and meeting with vigorous Resistance in many Rencounters, this rendered his March so difficult and impracticable on all sides, where he turned himself, that he was forced quite to give over his first Design of marching directly to *Moskow*, and seeing his Army suffer by a great Famine before he had almost entered the Frontiers of *Russia*, to turn towards *Ukraina*, where the secret Intelligence he held with the Traytor *Mazeppa*, formerly his Czarish Majesty's General, gave him hopes of meeting with better Success on that side.

His Czarish Majesty, however, relying all the while on the Fidelity which that Villain knew very artfully to simulate, had Information, that the King of *Sweden* had left a Body of his Forces under the Command of General *Crassau* with *Lezezinsky* in *Poland*, to force the whole Kingdom to espouse his Interest, and to excite the Nation to a War against his Czarish Majesty; and that he had sent Orders to General Count *Lewenhaupt* to leave *Livonia* and *Courland* with the considerable Body under his Command, in order to joyn his own Army. His Czarish Majesty found it necessary to hinder their Conjunction, and as he judged the Forces commanded by General *Lewenhaupt* not to exceed eight or nine thousand Men, he put himself at the Head of his Guards, consisting of seven thousand Men, whom, for the greater Expedition, he caused

to

to mount on Horſeback, and with ſome Regiments of Dragoons marched in Perſon to meet him. Field-Marſhal *Sheremetow*, the Miniſters, and the reſt of the Generals, had Orders to march to *Ukraina*, to obſtruct the Progreſs of the King of *Sweden* and to hinder him from penetrating further into *Ukraina*, yet without hazarding a deciſive Battel, before his Czariſh Majeſty ſhould be returned from his Expedition, and have joined them with the Body he had with him.

This Deſign by God's Help ſucceeded ſo well, that the Forces conducted by his Czariſh Majeſty himſelf fought a fortunate Battle near *Leſna*, and obtained a compleat Victory. *Lewenhaupt*'s whole Army conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand effective Men, was entirely defeated, though his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces employed in that Action, did not much exceed ten thouſand. And ſo People plainly ſaw how well his Czariſh Majeſty's Prophecy above related was fulfilled.

Mean time the King of *Sweden* marched into *Ukraina*, continued his ſecret Correſpondence with *Mazeppa*, and having ſettled with him the Terms on which he was to betray his lawful Prince, only expected General *Lewenhaupt*'s Arrival. He was ſoon informed of his Overthrow, yet nevertheleſs endeavoured to penetrate into the Heart of *Ukraina*. But the aboveſaid Ruſſian Army kept him off, till his Czariſh Majeſty arrived among them.

Soon after, *Mazeppa*'s foreſaid abominable Treachery broke out, which to the *Swedes* gave great Hopes and Joy, and among the *Ruſſians* at firſt occaſioned no ſmall Sorrow and Confuſion. But the great God, who

defeats

defeats all Deceit and wicked Designs, turned all this to his Czarish Majesty's Benefit, and to the King of *Sweden*'s Disadvantage, and afterwards to the total Destruction of his Army, as appeared by the Victory obtained at *Poltawa*.

Mazeppa had engaged to put the King of *Sweden* in Possession of the *Lesser Russia* or the Country of the *Cosacks*, which was under his Command, and to make the Cosackish Forces, with which his Czarish Majesty had entrusted him out of particular Favour, go over to him; but he found himself greatly deceived in his Hopes: The greater Part of that Nation continued in stedfast Fidelity and Obedience to his Czarish Majesty, the rest of them were reduced to their Duty by the Russian National Forces; *Batturin* the Capital of *Ukraina*, and the Place where the former *Hetmans*, as well as this Traytor *Mazeppa*, had had their usual Residence, was, to the King of *Sweden*'s great Mortification, taken by Assault, almost in Sight of the *Swedes*, by the Russian Army commanded by General Prince *Menchicoff*, and Prince *Gallitzin* Governor of *Kiow*. *Mazeppa*'s Adherents were all cut to pieces, a great Booty and abundance of Provisions, which *Mazeppa* had laid up in that Place, were carried off by the Russians, who afterwards in Resentment of that abominable Treachery, burnt the Town to the Ground. This being done, his Czarish Majesty commanded a new *Hetman* or General to be chosen by free Votes, according to the Custom of the Country, which Choice fell on *John Skoropatsky*, who with the other principal Men took the Oath of Allegiance to his Czarish Majesty, in which he continues to this Time

Time with anun ſhaken Fidelity. On the other hand, the Traytor *Mazeppa* was abandoned by the greater part of thoſe whom he had ſeduced by his cunning and malicious Devices, and his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces obtained ſo many Advantages during the whole Winter by their Parties, that the Courage and Strength of the *Swedes* was more and more abated.

Mean time his Czariſh Majeſty, at the Requeſt of the Swediſh Priſoners, gave Orders to releaſe upon Parole a Swediſh Auditor (Judge Advocate) of a Regiment, who was alſo a Priſoner, once more to endeavour to diſpoſe the King of *Sweden* to agree to a Cartel for exchanging Priſoners, a thing to which he would never conſent during the whole War, notwithſtanding ſeveral Powers had interpoſed their good Offices to that end, and ſome Swediſh Officers who were ſet at Liberty, had propoſed it to him in his Czariſh Majeſty's Name. The Swediſh Miniſters Count *Piper* and *Hermelin*, probably reflecting on the dangerous Situation of their Affairs, charged the ſaid Auditor to inſinuate to his Czariſh Majeſty upon his Return, that if he would make ſuitable Propoſals for Peace on his Part, his Swediſh Majeſty in that Caſe might perhaps accept of them.

Notwithſtanding his Czariſh Majeſty's Affairs at that time had already an Aſpect of good Succeſs, he ordered the ſaid Auditor to be ſent back without Delay with a Letter from his prime Miniſter for foreign Affairs Count *Golovkin*, to the Swediſh prime Miniſter Count *Piper*, ſo as the latter had himſelf deſired, in which Letter Propoſals were made on his Czariſh

riſh Majeſty's Side, for an Accommodation on very moderate Conditions, *viz.* that his Czariſh Majeſty only pretended to keep St. *Peterſbourg* with *Ingria*, as Part of his hereditary Dominions, and that he promiſed an Equivalent for *Narva*. But as his Swediſh Majeſty anſwered with an abſolute Refuſal, it ſufficiently appeared, that the aboveſaid Miniſters, who conſidered the ill Poſture of their Maſter's Affairs, had charged the ſaid Auditor with ſuch a Commiſſion without the King's Knowledge. And ſo it was neceſſary on the Part of *Ruſſia*, to reſume the Operations of War, till at length the Ruſſian Army, commanded by his Czariſh Majeſty in Perſon, obtained the glorious Victory near *Poltawa* over that proud Enemy, on the 27th of *June* 1709.

It is not our Deſign in this Place to relate at large in what manner the whole Swediſh Army was defeated, how ſome thouſands of them were taken Priſoners both during the Action and afterwards, as alſo how the reſt conſiſting of fourteen thouſand Men, ſurrendered Priſoners, among whom were the Field-Marſhal Count *Reinſchield*, with ſix other Generals, Count *Piper*, and the whole Swediſh Chancery, and beſides three hundred and ſix Staff- and Superior Officers. The Particulars of this Action have been ſufficiently related in the Accounts that were publiſhed on that Occaſion.

The King of *Sweden* being wounded in the Foot ſome Days before the Battle, when he went out in Perſon at the Head of a Party, in that Diſtreſs gave for the firſt time ſome Marks of his being diſpoſed to make Peace with his Czariſh Majeſty. It was with this View

View that before his Arrival at *Perevolotzna* and the Surrender of the remaining Body of his Forces, as aforesaid, he sent Major-General *Meyerfeld* to his Czarish Majesty: That Officer was not furnished either with full Powers or Credential Letters, nay, he even had not so much as a Passport to produce; he only pretended, that he was come to get Information of the Swedish Generals, Ministers and Officers who were taken Prisoners; that he had begged to be charged with that Commission to have an Opportunity of enquiring how it fared with his Brother-in-Law Count *Piper*. And this was what he declared after the first Ceremonies of the Audience, to which he was admitted by his Czarish Majesty, and then he desired Leave to see Count *Piper* his Brother-in-Law. But he was answered, that his Czarish Majesty could never imagine he was sent with a Commission of so small Importance, which might as well have been discharged by a Trumpeter as usual; that therefore he was to declare upon the spot, what he had to tell Count *Piper*, for even in case Leave should be given him to talk with the Count, then a Prisoner, he would not be permitted to do it otherwise than in the Presence of one of his Czarish Majesty's Ministers, nor would he be allowed to speak to him in private on any Affair of which he should not make mention in that Audience. This obliged him to declare, that he was ordered by the King to tell Count *Piper* on his part, that he should endeavour to conclude a Peace upon those Terms as the King intended to do before the Action near *Poltawa*, and that his Czarish Majesty would be pleased to release the Count either upon his Parole, or

by

by Exchange, in order to his receiving further and more particular Inſtructions, and full Powers for a Negotiation of Peace, and in the mean time to eſtabliſh a Ceſſation of Arms.

Though theſe Propoſitions did not appear to his Czariſh Majeſty to be ſuitable to the Conjuncture of that time, yet he gave Leave to Major General *Meyerfeld* to confer with Count *Piper*, in the Preſence of his Vice-Chancellor Baron *Schaphiroff*, in which Enterview nothing was talked of beſides what has been juſt now related. Count *Piper* declared on this Occaſion, that as he could not perfectly recollect on what Terms the King intended before the Battle of *Poltawa* to conclude a Peace with his Czariſh Majeſty, he deſired either to be exchanged or at leaſt to be releaſed upon Parole, in order to get poſitive Orders and full Powers to that end: But this was refuſed him. In the mean time, the whole Body of Swediſh Forces that had not been in the Battle of *Poltawa*, had been obliged to lay down their Arms near *Perewolotzna*, and to ſurrender Priſoners of War with the General *Lewenhaupt* and other Generals. The King of *Sweden* had retired into the Turkiſh Dominions, and applied to the *Turks* for Protection. His Czariſh Majeſty being returned to *Poltawa* from this Expedition, cauſed Intimation to be made to Major-General *Meyerfeld*, that ſeeing one of his Propoſals already fulfilled, and a full Ceſſation of Arms eſtabliſhed by the Surrender of the ſaid Body, he was now only to think on what Report to make to the King his Maſter on his Return; that therefore he might concert with Count *Piper*, and declare, what nearer Offers

of Peace were most proper to be made in the dangerous Conjuncture with which their King and Nation were threatened: His Majesty added, that without any regard to the fortunate Success of his Arms, he was yet willing, as a moderate and peaceable Monarch, not to reject a reasonable Peace with their King.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Count *Piper* having conferred together upon those Proposals, made at last this Declaration, That for settling a solid Foundation of an ensuing Negotiation of Peace they could find no other Method, than that his Czarish Majesty would be pleased to permit him, Major General *Meyerfeld*, to go to the King, and the King's Secretary *Cederhielm* to go to the Senate at *Stockholm*, and to send by them both, those Conditions upon which he was willing, at that Juncture, to make Peace with his Swedish Majesty; assuring at the same time that they believed the King as well as the whole Nation would be inclined to it, and that the Senate would intreat the King by an express Deputation to consent to it.

On this Occasion his Czarish Majesty gave an Instance of his moderate and peaceable Disposition towards this implacable Enemy, who, if God had granted him the like Success, would never have used so much Moderation, or perhaps none at all, but according to his notorious Design, pursued his Czarish Majesty to all Extremity, and endeavoured to compass his entire Ruin. His Czarish Majesty shewed so much Condescension, that he caused his Ultimatum for Peace to be insinuated by the foresaid Vice-Chancellor Baron *Schaphiroff* by Word of Mouth to Count *Piper*,

per, in the Presence of Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Secretary *Cederhielm*, to the end that they in his Presence might set it down in Writing: and Count *Piper* was to write Letters on that Subject to the King, as well as to the Senate, to be carried by those who were to be sent for that purpose.

These Conditions were grounded upon the greatest Equity imaginable. Besides the Province of *Ingria* and Part of that of *Carelia*, which were already conquered, his Czarish Majesty, for his own Satisfaction and Indemnity for the Expences of the War, insisted on nothing else, but the Fortress of *Wyburg* for a Barrier, and the Town of *Reval* in *Esthonia*. These two last Pretensions were inserted in the Propositions only with this Intent, that his Czarish Majesty might afterwards have something to abate in the main Negotiation of Peace.

His Czarish Majesty's foresaid Minister added, as of his own Accord, though in all Probability not without Order, that they might remonstrate to the King as well as to the Senate, that this was the Time as yet to obtain a Peace of his Czarish Majesty on such favourable Terms. For though they should yield up to his Czarish Majesty the said small Tract of Land, which they themselves had in former times conquered of their Neighbours, yet they would remain in the secure Possession of the remaining Provinces: Otherwise it might easily happen, that his Czarish Majesty after having obtained such a glorious Victory, might take away from them by his Arms, not only the said Provinces, but also more others: Besides that it was easy for them to imagine, that not only their Danish and Polish Majesties would

lay hold of this Opportunity to revenge the Injuſtice done to them by their King, and ſpeedily renew the former Alliance, but that alſo others tempted by ſo favourable a Juncture, might endeavour to ſnatch away ſome Parcel or other of the Swediſh Territories; and that then it would not be in his Czariſh Majeſty's Power to conclude a Peace with his Swediſh Majeſty on thoſe Terms without ſtipulating Satisfaction for his Allies; on the contrary he would be obliged to inſiſt on their being contented alſo, and to continue the War till that be obtained.

They took all this with due Acknowledgement in order to make Report of it, owned the Truth of it themſelves, and ſo were diſmiſſed with this Commiſſion from the Camp near *Poltawa*.

All the Swediſh Priſoners having ſolicited, that ſome from among them might be permitted to go to *Sweden*, to ſettle their Pay during their Captivity, his Czariſh Majeſty like a Chriſtian Monarch having Compaſſion for them, ordered that the two Colonels *Taube* and *Dücker*, ſome Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, and other Officers, ſhould be releaſed to this End, the other Officers who remained Priſoners, becoming Security for them, and they were thus diſmiſſed, engaging upon their Honour and Conſcience to return to *Ruſſia*, and ſurrender themſelves Priſoners again after the expiring of the Term ſtipulated; though on the part of *Sweden* during the whole War not one of the Ruſſian Priſoners had been releaſed either upon Parole or by Exchange, and that the King of *Sweden* would never give Ear to any Cartel propoſed

propoſed to be eſtabliſhed with his Czariſh Majeſty for exchanging Priſoners. It is therefore expected, every equitable and unprepoſſeſſed Perſon will own, that his Czariſh Majeſty's Moderation has been ſo much the greater, that in the Height of his good Fortune, and at a Juncture which had ſo much turned to his Advantage, he did not refuſe to make Peace on ſo reaſonable Terms, but rather ſhewed himſelf very ready and willing. On the other hand we are perſuaded every reaſonable Man would have expected, the King of *Sweden* in regard of the Condeſcenſion ſhewn by his Conqueror, would have gratefully embraced the aboveſaid Propoſals, and though he did not accept them in every particular, yet at leaſt return a civil Anſwer, and deſire that a Place might be appointed for a Treaty, a thing of which his Czariſh Majeſty made almoſt no doubt, conſidering the Circumſtances of that Time, and how much it was the King's own Intereſt ſo to do. But it fell out quite otherwiſe than was expected: The King of *Sweden* ſent Letters from *Oczacow* by one of the Clerks of the Chancery, *Von-Kooh*, to Count *Piper*, in which he inveighed in very hard Terms againſt the foreſaid Conditions, though propoſed at his own Deſire, and upon the Repreſentation made by Count *Piper* and Major-General *Meyerfeld*; he even violated the high Reſpect due to his Czariſh Majeſty to ſuch a degree, as to call them impudent Pretenſions of a forſworn Enemy; he rejected them, plainly ſhewing that he had not the leaſt Inclination for ſuch an Accommodation; on the other hand, among other things he commanded Count *Piper*,

per, just as if he had been the Conqueror, forthwith to obtain his Liberty in order to be his Minister Plenipotentiary, and to take proper Measures that his Czarish Majesty might set at Liberty all his Prisoners pursuant to the Cartel used between other Powers; though he himself formerly could never be prevailed upon at any rate to establish such a Cartel, in spite of all the Pains his Czarish Majesty took for it by the Interposition of other Powers. Besides, all those Letters were filled with the grossest Injuries against his Czarish Majesty and his high Person, which can be proved from the original Letters still extant in the Czarish Chancery. His Czarish Majesty thereby plainly seeing, that nothing but the Force of his Arms could bring this Enemy to Peace, as his past Conduct had manifested enough before, gave a short Resolution to Count *Piper*, viz. That his Majesty saw himself necessitated to answer the Injuries contained in his King's Letter, no otherwise than with his Sword, and that he would be justified before God and the whole World, if that War should be still continued with the Effusion of a great deal of human Blood.

Pursuant to this Resolution his Czarish Majesty took proper Measures for continuing the War to good Effect, by carrying it into the King of *Sweden*'s own Dominions where he thought it most advantageous. He gave new Orders to his Ministers residing at the Courts of *Denmark* and *Saxony*, to do their utmost Endeavours for bringing the Negotiations for an Alliance against the King of *Sweden* to a Conclusion, and to dispose the said Courts to enter into joynt Measures with his Czarish Majesty,

Majesty. His Intentions were not only to drive the Enemy's remaining Forces out of *Poland*, but also to attack his Provinces in *Germany*, and to dispossess him of them, if possible, in order to stop up by this means the Canal, by which the King might be again enabled for the future to carry the War into the Kingdom of *Poland*, and consequently into his Czarish Majesty's own Dominions.

With this View his Czarish Majesty caused Part of his Army to march to *Riga*, and to block up that Place; another Part of it was sent into *Poland*, to joyn the Body that already stood there under the Command of Field-Marshal Lieutenant-General *Goltz*, and his Czarish Majesty himself went thither Post, in order to put his abovesaid Design in Execution.

On the Road he had Advice, that the Swedish Major-General *Crassau* and *Leszczinsky*, upon the News of the total Overthrow of the great Swedish Army, had immediately retired out of *Poland*, and that his Majesty King *Augustus* II. after having resolved to renew the Friendship and Alliance with his Czarish Majesty, was upon the Point of re-ascending his Throne, of which the Swedish Violence had in an unjust and unheard-of manner dispossessed him; the just Reasons for doing which have been made sufficiently known to the World in a Manifesto which he caused to be published on that Occasion.

His Czarish Majesty having had an Enterview with his said Majesty at *Thoren*, it was resolved to follow the Enemy's Army into *Pomerania*, according to the Reason of War which allows every body to pursue his Enemy

wherever he can meet with him. But his Imperial Majeſty, as alſo *England* and *Holland*, having in the mean time made Remonſtrances to his Czariſh Majeſty, and deſired him not to diſturb the Tranquillity of the *German* Empire, engaging to diſpoſe the King of *Sweden* not to attack either his Czariſh Majeſty or his high Allies from the ſaid Provinces; his Czariſh Majeſty for that time deferred making an Irruption there, the rather becauſe the Seaſon was too far advanced, and returned to the ſaid Powers the following Anſwer to their Propoſition: That they might firſt diſpoſe the King of *Sweden* to conſent to it, and then engage themſelves to become Guarantees, in which caſe his Czariſh Majeſty would take his Reſolution accordingly and acquaint them with it. The Alliance between their Czariſh and Daniſh Majeſties having been renewed in the mean time, and War declared by the latter againſt the Crown of *Sweden*, his Czariſh Majeſty conſulted with all his high Allies, what Meaſures ought to be taken in this Affair, and what Anſwer was to be returned to his Imperial Majeſty and the Sea-Powers, who continued their former Inſtances, and declared, that they had poſitive Aſſurances from the Senate and Miniſtry in *Sweden*, as alſo from the Governour of *Bremen*, Count *Welling*, in the King's Name, that their King would conſent to it, and would not attack the Northern Allies from his German Provinces. The ſaid Powers further declared, that for the maintaining of the Tranquillity in the German Empire, and during the War with *France*, they would be neceſſitated to gather an Army which was to act againſt

againſt him who ſhould endeavour to diſturb that Tranquillity, and on the other ſide to defend him who ſhould be attacked. Though this was directly oppoſite to the Intereſt both of his Czariſh Majeſty and his high Allies, yet to give a Proof to the World of his Moderation, he diſpoſed his high Allies to it, and ſo they jointly accepted the ſaid Propoſitions, withal declaring by their Miniſters at the *Hague*, that though their ſeveral Majeſties in Compliance with the Deſire of his Imperial Majeſty, as alſo of *England* and *Holland*, had conſented to thoſe Propoſals, contrary to their own Intereſt, yet they pretended that the ſaid Powers on their Part ſhould enter into an Engagement among themſelves, that, in caſe any of the contending Parties ſhould act contrary to that Convention, *viz.* if either the King of *Sweden* ſhould attempt an Invaſion from the ſaid Provinces into ſome of their reſpective Majeſties Dominions, or if their Majeſties themſelves ſhould contrary to their Promiſe attack the King of *Sweden* in his German Provinces, the mediating Powers ſhould then be obliged to make good their Guaranty, by aſſiſting the Party attacked with the Army deſigned for that End againſt the Aggreſſor. Upon this Declaration the ſaid Powers eſtabliſhed the *Act of Neutrality*, as it was called. But the King of *Sweden*, inſtead of accepting this at the Hands of his Czariſh Majeſty and the other Powers, with particular Thankfulneſs, foraſmuch as the ſaid Act of Neutrality was entirely calculated for his own Advantage and the Preſervation of his German Provinces, wrote to them, to the great Surprize of all the World, in paſſionate and threatning Terms, reproaching

reproaching them, that they intended as it were to tie his Hands and hinder him from acting againſt his Enemies. All which is ſufficiently known to all *Europe* from the Letters that were ſent to the ſaid Powers and publiſhed every where.

The King of *Sweden* having thus rejected the Act of Neutrality which was deſigned for his own Good, his Czariſh Majeſty and his high Allies were likewiſe no longer bound by it. Therefore, after previous Declarations and Proteſtations, he cauſed his Army to march into *Germany* in order to begin the Operations of War againſt the Swediſh Provinces there. The Event has ſhewn what irreparable Damage thereby accrued to the King of *Sweden:* His Field-Marſhal, Count *Steenbock*, was driven by the Army of the Allies, under the valiant Conduct of their Czariſh and Daniſh Majeſties, into the Fortreſs of *Tonningen*, where after a Blockade he was obliged to ſurrender upon Diſcretion: His Czariſh Majeſty's Troops afterwards forced *Stetin* to ſurrender, and by his Orders delivered it up to his Pruſſian Majeſty, to ſhew that it never was his Deſign to make any Conqueſts in the German Empire, *&c.*

Yet all this had no weight with the King of *Sweden*, he continued his wicked Intrigues againſt his Czariſh Majeſty to a degree, that during his Stay at *Bender* he ſtirred up againſt him the hereditary Enemy of the Chriſtian Name, and a Rupture actually enſued in 1711.

Thoſe Infidels broke the Peace of thirty Years they had made with his Czariſh Majeſty, and ſent the *Tartar Can* to make a ſud-

den

den Irruption into his Dominions, who carried away from the Leſſer-Ruſſian and Poliſh *Ukraina* a great number of Chriſtians into Slavery.

His Czariſh Majeſty did not judge it adviſeable, to let this War grow to a Head before that of *Sweden* was brought to a Period. He therefore took the Field in Perſon with a conſiderable Army and went to meet the Enemy: Both Armies being come within ſight of each other on the River *Pruth*, it happened, that in ſome Rencounters, the Turks, by God's Aſſiſtance, were always repulſed, though they were five times the number of his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces, without reckoning the Tartars. However his Czariſh Majeſty, as a wiſe Monarch and valiant General, not judging it proper to hazard his whole Fortune at one Venture, the rather becauſe his Army was in great Streights for want of Proviſions and Forage, cauſed a Peace to be propoſed to the Enemy.

The Turk having already experienced the manly Valour and Bravery of his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces, accepted thoſe Propoſals with Joy; a Negotiation being carried on with his Czariſh Majeſty's Miniſters Plenipotentiaries ſent to that End, *viz.* the Vice-Chancellor Baron *Schaphirow*, and Major General Count *Michael Scheremetow*, a Peace was actually concluded, by virtue of which his Czariſh Majeſty yielded up to the Turk the City of *Azoff* (which he had formerly conquered of him) after having demoliſhed the new Fortifications that had been added to it, and carried off the Artillery and Ammunition; he alſo cauſed the new Forts ſituate on the Sea of *Azoff* and

and on the River *Dnieper* to be razed. The Turks on their Side ſtipulated nothing elſe in favour of the King of *Sweden* than that a free Paſſage ſhould be granted to him to his own Dominions.

In this manner he was diſappointed in all his Machinations and Corruptions by his Czariſh Majeſty's valiant and wiſe Conduct; and his hoſtile Intentions, which ſolely aimed at the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, were defeated. For it was his Deſign to lead thoſe Barbarians into *Poland* with no other View, than firſt to ſubdue that Kingdom, and afterwards to penetrate not only into his Czariſh Majeſty's Dominions, but alſo into the German Provinces of his Enemies, and to deſtroy them with Fire and Sword. The Turks themſelves at firſt in a civil manner, and afterwards by Force and Affronts, inſiſted on his Departure out of their Territories and his Return to *Sweden*, which they had ſtipulated in the Treaty with his Czariſh Majeſty; yet the King, neglecting the Reſpect due to his Royal Perſon, and leaving his own Dominions to the Diſcretion of his Enemies, was not to be prevailed on, but continued in *Turkey*, even againſt the Will of thoſe Barbarians, fully bent to put his revengeful Deſigns in Execution ſome time or other. The Crowns of *France* and *England*, as alſo afterwards his Imperial Majeſty, made Propoſals of Peace to him, and deſired him to ſend his Miniſters to a Congreſs for Peace to meet the Miniſters of the Powers in War againſt him, for which his Imperial Majeſty propoſed the City of *Brunſwick*, yet he could not be brought to conſent to it, but rejected all thoſe Mediati-

ons,

ons. And though thoſe Propoſitions were favourably received by his Czariſh Majeſty and his high Allies, even in the midſt of the proſperous Succeſs of their Arms, and that they had already ſent ſome Miniſters to the Congreſs as they had been deſired; yet this bore no Weight with the King, who had no other Rule than his Paſſions, and thought of nothing elſe but ſtirring up the Turks a ſecond time againſt his Enemies.

To compaſs this End he made uſe of divers Intrigues, and bribed the Miniſters there with great Sums of Money; he had even gained his Point ſo far, that the *Porte* by divers Machinations of the Swediſh Adherents, *viz.* the rebellious *Poles* and *Coſacks*, was come to a new Rupture with his Czariſh Majeſty. His Ambaſſadors were in the moſt cruel manner ſhut up in the *Seven Towers*, and the *Sultan* himſelf was advanced with the Army to *Adrianople*, reſolved to proceed further. But when he ſaw himſelf deceived by the fraudulent Inſinuations of the *Swedes*, and was informed of the fortunate Succeſs of his Czariſh Majeſty's Arms, particularly in *Pomerania*; he ſuſpended his March, and gave Orders, to convoy the King of *Sweden* through *Poland* to ſafe Places. He alſo commanded the *Tartar Can* and his Kube-Viſier, *Iſhmael* Baſha of *Bender*, to notify to the King of *Sweden*, that he ought to depart out of his Dominions under their Convoy.

Theſe Perſons being the King's ſpecial Friends, endeavoured to perſuade him to depart, but all in vain: He even incenſed them againſt himſelf, and carried Matters ſo far that in their own Juſtification they were obliged to declare themſelves the King's Enemies and

adviſe

advise the Sultan, that either he might force him away, or cause him to be carried to *Adrianople*, representing that the King's Stay on the Frontiers was of dangerous Consequence for several Reasons.

Upon this they received Orders to force the King either to one or the other, in the Execution of which Command they found the King so obstinately determined against either, that it gave occasion to the famous Action of *Bender*, in which the King indeed gave Proofs of great Bravery against the Turks, but at length was over-powered by their number, all his Men were carried away into Captivity, and himself obliged to make his Escape through the Window of his House to which they had set Fire. He was wounded in several Places, beaten by the Janizaries in the most shameful manner, and carried Prisoner before the Basha of *Bender*, to whom he was beholden for having saved his Life, by promising ten thousand Lyon-Dalers to the Janizaries if they could deliver him alive.

And so he was carried Prisoner by the Sultan's Orders to *Adrianople*, and kept for some time under Confinement in the Borough of *Dimotica*, till the Porte by the Interposition of the French Ambassador was prevailed on to use him with less Rigour. He was therefore carried to a Village not far from *Bender*, called *Demerdesch*, in hopes that the French Ambassador would be able to dispose him, to leave their Dominions and return home by Sea. Yet they found themselves mistaken even in those Hopes; the King insensible of the Affront, as well as the Wounds and Blows he had received, obstinately and immoveably persisted in his first Design, and only endeavoured

voured by his Intrigues to kindle a new War againſt his Czariſh Majeſty.

And though he afterwards ſaw that all his Machinations were of no Effect with the Turks, but that they rather renewed the Negotiations with his Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, and that a Peace was actually concluded at *Adrianople*; yet all the Advices of his Friends, particularly the French Ambaſſador's were not able to perſuade him, to leave the Turkiſh Territories. And ſo he was carried a ſecond time to *Dimotica*, where he continued above a Year, without receiving from the Turks the leaſt Marks of Honour, or even ſo much as a ſufficient Allowance, ſo that at length for want of neceſſary Subſiſtance, he was forced to remove, and to return through his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions to *Pomerania*, as is ſufficiently known to all the World. Upon his Return, his Subjects as well as others whom it concerned, were entirely of Opinion, that he would at length endeavour to come to an Accommodation with his Enemies, and upon the Remonſtrances made by his Czariſh Majeſty and the other Powers, ſend his Miniſters to the Congreſs in order to enter upon a Treaty. But ſuch was the Obſtinacy of that Prince, that he perſiſted in the Deſign he had once formed of continuing the War againſt his Enemies; he even overturned the Conventions the Senate and his Miniſters had made in his Name, he declared null the Sequeſtration of *Stetin* and other Places in *Pomerania* conquered by the Ruſſian Forces, though intended for his own good; nay, he attacked the Garriſons the King of *Pruſſia* had put into *Wolgaſt* and the Iſland of *Uſedom*, and

thereby necessitated his Prussian Majesty to act in a hostile manner against him, to support the Treaty he had made concerning that Sequestration, and to prevent his dangerous Designs against himself and Neighbours. Hereupon his Prussian Majesty entered in an Alliance with their Britannick and Danish Majesties, in which it was resolved, joyntly with the Danish and Polish or Saxon Forces to reduce the Island of *Rügen*, the Fortresses of *Stralsund*, and *Wismar*, and when this was effectuated to drive the King of *Sweden* entirely out of the German Territories.

All this while, not only before the Hostilities were begun, but also during the Operations of War, favourable Propositions were made to the King of *Sweden* on the part of their Prussian and Polish Majesties, for a general as well as particular Accommodation, by the Interposition of the French Ambassador and other Correspondents: But he shewed not the least Inclination for it, even to the last Minute, nor would he so much as give Ear to them, or send his Ministers to the Congress, which had been appointed at his Czarish Majesty's Desire. And in this Inflexibility he continues to this Hour, after having lost all his German Provinces, nor are the well-meaning Advices of his Ministers or the lamentable Desire and Supplication of his faithful Subjects of any Weight with him, notwithstanding the Northern Allies have at all times expressed all possible Inclination for making Peace with him, and sent their Ministers to the Congress of *Brunswick*, for which those on the Part of his Czarish Majesty have been nominated already some Years ago.

Time

Time will ſhew, what the Conſequences will be in the End of ſuch an implacable Conduct and Obſtinacy.

And ſo we make no doubt but the above Circumſtances will convince every body that none but the King himſelf is the Cauſe of the Continuance of this long War and the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood: On the contrary all will be ready to own, that his Czariſh Majeſty has given ſufficient Proofs to the whole World in all his Conduct and on all Occaſions of his peaceable Mind and Moderation.

ARTICLE III.

That the Proceedings on the Part of his Czariſh Majeſty in this War have been according to the greateſt Moderation and the Cuſtom of all civilized and Chriſtian Nations; and that if on certain Occaſions ſome Rigour has been uſed, it was moſtly done by way of Reprizals for the Cruelties committed by the Swedes *againſt his Czariſh Majeſty's Generals, Forces and Subjects: Whereas on the contrary on the Swediſh Side the ſaid War was carried on not in a manner uſed among civilized Nations, but with all ſort of inhuman Cruelty and Animoſity.*

IT has already been mentioned above in this Diſcourſe, how his Czariſh Majeſty not being able to obtain the leaſt Satisfaction

for the Affront offered him on the part of *Sweden*, was in Justice obliged, to seek it by his Arms. His Czarish Majesty made the beginning of it in the manner following: First he caused his faithful Subjects, the States Ecclesiastical, Military and Civil, to be acquainted with his Resolution, and to be convoked at *Moskow*, which was then the Place of his Residence; he represented to them the most weighty and just Reasons, for which he was obliged to begin this War, both to defend his Empire and faithful Subjects, and to revenge the Injustice and Affront offered to his own high Person. He afterwards in a publick Service in the Cathedral called upon God Almighty for his Assistance in this Undertaking.

Next he caused Notification of it to be made by an Assessor and Secretary in the Chancery of the Embassy of the Empire, to the Swedish Resident then at *Moskow*, *Von-Knipercron*, adding the Reasons which had moved his Majesty to begin that War; at the same time Intimation was made to the said Resident, that his Majesty allowed him one Month's time for regulating his domestick Affairs, after which Term he was to depart for *Sweden* with all his Family and Baggage, and in the mean while to make Report of the whole Affair to his Master. About the same time Orders were sent to the Resident at the Swedish Court, Prince *Chilcow*, to notify there the Declaration of War with all the Circumstances and Reasons for which it was begun, and afterwards without Delay to return home. His Majesty likewise gave Orders to his Ministers residing at foreign

reign Courts, to make Notification of it, with this Addition, that his Majeſty would not decline an Accommodation in caſe ſufficient Satisfaction was given him, and that for this End he would accept of their reſpective Mediations. Intimation was alſo made to the Swediſh Commiſſaries, Factors and others Swediſh Subjects of what Condition ſoever that were then in *Ruſſia*, without loſs of Time to depart the Ruſſian Empire with their Effects, to which the Ruſſian Subjects ſhould not be allowed any manner of Claim.

Thoſe Diſpoſitions being made, his Czariſh Majeſty with his Army, which was divided into ſeveral Columns, began his March towards *Narva*. Upon his entering the Swediſh Territories he gave rigorous Orders, that, beſides the uſual warlike Operations, no body ſhould preſume to make uſe of the leaſt Expreſſions either in writing or by word of Mouth, prejudicial or injurious to his Swediſh Majeſty or the Swediſh Nation; he ordered his Troops, as much as their Regulation at that time would poſſibly allow, they for the moſt part conſiſting of an irregular Militia, to keep good Diſcipline, that no manner of harm whatſoever be done to the Swediſh Subjects, much leſs that they be ruined; and thoſe who tranſgreſſed that Order were puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

We are now to ſee on the other hand, how the *Swedes*, who however pretend to paſs in the Eyes of the World for a civilized People, have behaved in this War.

As ſoon as the Swediſh Court had notice

of the Declaration of War made by his Czariſh Majeſty, his Miniſter the ſaid Prince *Gbilcow*, was not only immediately put under cloſe Confinement, but alſo all his Servants ſeparated from him, and afterwards all his Effects and Houſhold-Goods confiſcated, and his Plate carried to the Mint, to coin Money of it.

In ſhort he was uſed during the whole War worſe than a Priſoner, and at laſt he ended his Days in that Confinement. The Secretary alſo who had been ſent with him on that Occaſion, and ſeveral of his Domeſticks periſhed by the Rigour of their Priſon, and the Miſery they endured; and though his Czariſh Majeſty, to uſe Repriſals, gave likewiſe Orders to ſeize the Swediſh Reſident *Von-Knipercron*, who had deſired a Reſpite of ſix Months for regulating his own Affairs; yet in 1709 he obtained his Czariſh Majeſty's Leave to return to *Sweden*, after he had engaged in writing that he would procure to his Czariſh Majeſty's Reſident in *Sweden* the ſame Liberty; the King's Secretary *Dûben* was afterwards likewiſe ſet at Liberty in hopes the Ruſſian Reſident would alſo be releaſed; which the Swediſh Court indeed ſeveral times promiſed, but never performed. All Ruſſian Merchants, with their Servants, Commiſſaries, and Workmen, of whom there were ſome hundreds at *Stockholm* and in other Swediſh Towns, were not only put under Arreſt, but had alſo their Effects confiſcated, which forthwith were employed for the King's Uſe, without leaving them the leaſt for their Subſiſtance, and they themſelves were

even forced to intolerable hard Labour, under which, as alſo in the moſt ſevere Priſons, moſt of them miſerably periſhed.

The King hereupon ſent Letters to his Miniſters reſiding at foreign Courts, concerning this Declaration of War, which Letters contrary to the Uſe obſerved among Chriſtian Powers, were filled with the moſt calumnious Reflexions againſt his Czariſh Majeſty's high Perſon, who was therein called a forſworn Enemy, and the like. In the Year 1700 a Battel happened between both their Majeſties Armies near *Narva*, his Czariſh Majeſty's Forces being then entirely raw and unexperienced in Military Exerciſes, the Cavalry being likewiſe not yet regulated, beſides that their Horſes for the greater part had periſhed for want of Forage, and that almoſt all the Infantry, three Regiments excepted, conſiſted of Recruits who never had ſeen an Enemy; they were conſequently no ſufficient Match for the regular and veteran Swediſh Troops, but the Enemy by a certain unlucky Incident found an Opportunity of entering the Ruſſian Intrenchments, and to break part of thoſe Troops which formed the main Battle: However the Generals who commanded the Regiments of *Preobraſchenſky* and *Semenowsky*, which had been joyned by the Diviſions of General *Golowin* and General *Weyde*, maintained the Fight with ſuch Bravery, that the Enemy was not able to obtain a complete Victory till late at Night. The King therefore ſeeing himſelf in the midſt of his Enemies, and having Reaſon to apprehend that in caſe the Ruſſian Troops

ſhould get time of rallying and attacking him on all Sides, the Iſſue might be fatal to him, he ſent ſome Trumpeters and deſired Ceſſation of Arms, in order to enter upon a formal Treaty.

Accordingly a Treaty was ſet on foot between a Major General and Adjutant General on the part of the King of *Sweden*, and his Czariſh Majeſty's commanding Generals, *viz.* the Duke of *Croy*, who during the Battle was fallen into the Enemy's Hands; the Commander in Chief and Privy Councellor, Prince *James Dolhoruky*; the Maſter General of the Ordnance, Prince *Meretien*; the General of the Infantry *Golowin*; the Privy Councellor and Governor of *Novogorod*, Prince *John Trubetzkoy*; and the Major General *Butturlin*: General *Weyde* with his Diviſion being then cut off from the main Army, the Enemies, as mentioned above, having poſted themſelves in the Middle.

After ſome Meſſages on both Sides, a Capitulation was agreed on between the ſaid Generals on the following Terms: (1.) That the Ruſſian Generals ſhould march off free, as to their own Perſons, with the whole Army, all the Colours and Arms, and part of the Field-Artillery. (2.) That the Priſoners on both Sides ſhould be releaſed, and the Dead on the Field of Battle be taken up and buried. (3.) That the heavy Artillery on the Batteries, and what elſe had been employed in the Attack of *Narva*, as alſo the greater part of the Field-Artillery ſhould remain to the Enemy, but all the reſt belonging to the Army, with the whole Baggage for the Regiments

giments and Officers, ſhould be permitted to march off with the Army free and without any hinderance.

His Czariſh Majeſty's Generals were fain to conſent to thoſe Conditions, becauſe they ſaw the greater part of the new Troops in the utmoſt Confuſion, and the Communication cut off between the two Bodies of their Army, beſides that a Retreat would have proved very difficult. For though they had before them a Bridge over the River *Narva*, yet it was impracticable to paſs it in ſight of the Enemy. For the better Confirmation of that Capitulation the ſaid Generals deſired to be admitted into the King's Preſence, to ſee it ratified by him, which accordingly was granted; they repeated before him the ſeveral Articles of it, which he confirmed by Word of Mouth, engaging his Royal Word, and in Token that he would ſacredly keep the ſaid Capitulation, he gave his Hand to the General and Privy Councellor, Prince *Dolhoruky*.

With theſe Hopes, the firſt Regiments, *viz.* *Preobraſchensky* and *Semenowsky*, with General *Golowin*'s Diviſion, marched with their Colours and Arms without hinderance over the ſaid Bridge; the other Troops, purſuant to the Tenour of the Capitulation, which they truſted would be inviolably obſerved, were ordered to paſs through the midſt of the Enemy's Army; but, as ſoon as the *Swedes* ſaw the Ruſſian Army divided, they ſet aſide the Capitulation for which the Royal Word ſtood engaged, and forced the ſaid Regiments, one after another to lay down their Arms, and to deliver up their Colours,

and after they had plundered all their Baggage, they let them march off over the Bridge. They likewiſe ſeized all the Artillery and Ammunition, and under divers frivolous Pretexts firſt put all the Generals and many other ſuperior Officers military and civil, under Arreſt, and afterwards even kept them as Priſoners of War. General *Weyde*, who had obtained Leave of the *Swedes* to go to *Narva*, in order to be cured of his Wounds he had received in the Battle, and to whom they had given their Parole, that he ſhould freely return, was likewiſe ſeized. Every one knows that they were altogether kept by the *Swedes* in very ſevere Priſon, and that ſome of them are not yet releaſed to this very Hour, on which account many Repreſentations and Proteſtations were made at foreign Courts on the part of his Czariſh Majeſty.

The *Swedes* were now of Opinion, that by the ſeizing of the Ruſſian Generals, and the diſperſing of the greateſt part of their Forces, *Ruſſia* was entirely enervated and would lie at their Mercy; the King of *Sweden* conſidering himſelf already as a Conqueror of *Ruſſia*, would not hearken to any Accommodation; he therefore only detached part of his Forces towards the Ruſſian Frontiers, and with the main Army marched againſt the King of *Poland*. He iſſued Proclamations in his own Name and under his Hand and Seal to his Czariſh Majeſty's Subjects to ſtir them up againſt their natural Sovereign. In thoſe Papers he uſed his Czariſh Majeſty with ſuch injurious and virulent Invectives, as my Pen juſtly abhors to expreſs, out of Veneration for my moſt gracious Sovereign,

vereign, a Monarch who has ſo glorious a Name in the World.

But Proceſs of time has convinced not only the *Swedes*, but all the World beſides, how much the former were miſtaken in their Opinion, and how his Czariſh Majeſty by God's Aſſiſtance, and by his own wiſe Regulations and indefatigable Care, not only repaired the Loſs of Generals, Officers and common Soldiers, but alſo mended the military Eſtabliſhment, and brought them to Experience. His Czariſh Majeſty judging it would be more proper to anſwer the Affronts that had been offered to him, with the Point of the Sword, than with the Pen, purſued his warlike Expeditions, and after having driven the Enemy from his Frontiers, penetrated again by degrees into *Ingria*, *Eſthonia* and *Livonia*. We will not enlarge here upon the enſuing glorious Sieges and Conqueſts of ſo many Towns and Provinces, which being a Subject foreign to our Deſign, we leave it to Hiſtorians to recount, and return to our firſt Purpoſe, which is to relate the cruel Proceedings of the *Swedes*.

When the abovementioned Ruſſian Generals and Officers Military and Civil, who had been ſeized contrary to the Capitulation and the King of *Sweden*'s Royal Word, were ſent to *Stockholm*, they were obliged to march on foot like other Priſoners through the Town after an extraordinary manner and as in Triumph, to the Place where they were to remain under Confinement. They were treated with great Severity, notwithſtanding his Czariſh Majeſty uſed many Endeavours by Letters, and Remonſtrances made by his Miniſters

ſters to foreign Powers, particularly to *England*, *Pruſſia*, and the States-General of the *United Netherlands*, that by their Mediation they would diſpoſe the King of *Sweden*, to releaſe his Czariſh Majeſty's Subjects, ſeized contrary to the publick Faith, and to this End eſtabliſh with his Majeſty a Cartel for the exchanging and redeeming of Priſoners, either during the whole War, or for a certain Time, according to the Cuſtom obſerved between all Chriſtian Powers when at War. A conſiderable Number of *Swedes* being afterwards taken Priſoners, ſome of them had Leave upon their Parole to go to *Sweden*, to make Repreſentations to the ſame End. But there appeared not the leaſt Inclination to it on the ſide of *Sweden*, on the contrary they always pertinaciouſly refuſed it, and even detained thoſe that had been ſent, in Breach of their Engagement; this continued till the glorious Action of *Poltawa*, in which by his Czariſh Majeſty's wiſe and valiant Conduct almoſt the whole Swediſh Army was by the Ruſſian Forces either defeated or taken Priſoners.

How the King of *Sweden* thereupon deſired the exchanging and redeeming of Priſoners by way of a Cartel, has been already mentioned in the ſecond Part of this Paper.

Though his Czariſh Majeſty for certain Reaſons of War and State, refuſed that Cartel, foraſmuch as it could not be expected he ſhould releaſe the greateſt Part of the Swediſh Army for an inconſiderable Ranſom, there being but a ſmall number in Compariſon of *Ruſſian* Priſoners at that time in *Sweden*; yet his Czariſh Majeſty ſhewed uncommon Generoſity towards the ſaid Swediſh Priſoners, for the

the ſame Day the Victory had been obtained, the Field-Marſhal Count *Reenſchield*, the prime Miniſter Count *Piper*, and the other Generals and ſuperior Officers, were not only admitted to his Majeſty's Table, and uſed with great Marks of Favour, but Orders were alſo given, that they ſhould have their Swords reſtored them, that all due Honours be paid them, and that Care be taken they ſhould want for nothing. Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Secretary *Cederhielm* at their Deſire had Liberty granted them by his Czariſh Majeſty to go with Propoſals of Peace, the firſt to the King, and the other to the Senate at *Stockholm*. The two Colonels, *Dücker* and *Taube*, who at preſent are both Governors General, as alſo many Miniſters of State and Officers were diſmiſſed for *Sweden*, to regulate their private Affairs there, and to ſollicit their Pay and the Subſiſtence of the Priſoners. They had engaged their Word and Bond, and the remaining Priſones were become Security for them: But the greater Part of them, inſtead of due Gratitude, not only did not return at all, but even by the King's Permiſſion, carried Arms during this War againſt his Czariſh Majeſty and his Allies.

On the other hand, the *Swedes* would never releaſe any of the Ruſſian Priſoners on their Parole, or give them Leave only to go for a ſhort time, unleſs it be by Exchange, notwithſtanding the repeated Inſtances that had been made for it.

Though his Czariſh Majeſty, even before the Battle of *Poltawa* had frequent Opportunities of revenging the ſeizure of his Generals and other Officers, by ſecuring alſo the

Garriſons

Garriſons of *Nôteburg*, *Nie-ſchantz*, *Iwanogorod*, and *Dôrpt*, the latter of which conſiſted of ſome thouſand Men, and many Staff- and Superior Officers; yet he kept his Czariſh Word ſacredly and inviolably, obſerving the Capitulations made by his Generals; he not only let the ſaid Garriſons march off freely and without Hinderance, he even cauſed them to be furniſhed with all neceſſary Proviſions, though that was not ſtipulated in the Capitulation; his Czariſh Majeſty comented himſelf with repreſenting to them, that they ought to acquaint their King with it, to the End that in Return for it, the Generals and Officers, ſeized contrary to Parole and Capitulation, might be ſet at Liberty. But this was of no Effect, on the contrary the King returned to his Czariſh Majeſty's Propoſals nothing but all ſorts of opprobrious Expreſſions. His Czariſh Majeſty therefore was at length neceſſitated to uſe Repriſals; the ſeizing of the foreſaid Generals and ſuperior Officers, the detaining of the Ruſſian Merchants in *Sweden*, and the taking of a Snow commanded by Lieutenant *Schmidt*, with all the Men on board, which was ſent with Letters under his Czariſh Majeſty's white Flag, but was ſeized by the Swediſh Rear-Admiral *Lilien*, who inſulted and tore off his Majeſty's Flag; thoſe Conſiderations, I ſay, prevailed with his Czariſh Majeſty, that he cauſed the Garriſons of *Wybourg* and *Riga* to be likewiſe ſecured and treated as Priſoners.

His Czariſh Majeſty having ſo civilly uſed the Swediſh Generals who were taken Priſoners, as to cauſe their Swords to be reſtored to them, he might have expected his Generals

in *Sweden* would meet with a reciprocal Complaiſance in that reſpect: But when he had Informations to the contrary, the Swediſh Generals and Count *Piper* had likewiſe their Swords taken from them again, when his Czariſh Majeſty made his ſolemn Entry into the City of *Moskow* on account of the Victory of *Poltawa*, and they were led on foot through the City in like manner as the Ruſſian Generals had been formerly at *Stockholm*; however, they were not kept under ſuch ſevere Confinement as the others, but were honourably and civilly uſed.

His Czariſh Majeſty had had many other juſt Reaſons to revenge the cruel Proceedings committed by the *Swedes* on innumerable Occaſions, ſome Particulars of which ſhall be related hereafter; he might have returned the like Uſage to them, but his known Magnanimity and Chriſtian Compaſſion never would permit him to take ſuch Meaſures; he choſe rather to follow *David*'s Example, who ſaid: *Fret not thy ſelf becauſe of the ungodly, neither be thou envious againſt the evil Doers.* Sometimes he implored God to proſper his Arms in taking Vengeance of the Offences given him, ſometimes he would even overlook them with a Greatneſs of Mind, which ſcorned to reſent thoſe Injuries by exerciſing the like Cruelty on the poor Priſoners. He never returned the Uſage he met with, except, when the Manifeſtos publiſhed by the Enemies in *Poland*, and afterwards in the *Leſſer Ruſſia*, which were intended not only to excite the *Poles*, but even to ſtir up his Majeſty's own Subjects to Rebellion, obliged him in his own Defence and for the Security of his Dominions, to

cauſe

cauſe ſuitable Manifeſto's to be iſſued in Refutation of the falſe Imputations contained in thoſe of the Enemy.

We ſhall add here for the Reader's Information, many Facts more, committed on the part of the *Swedes* againſt his Czariſh Majeſty's Troops and Subjects, with an Intent of offending and affronting his Majeſty himſelf, which Facts though they have happened already a long time ago, yet as they never were before committed to Memory in writing, they ſhall be here clearly and truly related. For Brevity ſake we will make no particular mention of the hard Treatment which the Ruſſian Generals, Officers, and other Perſons of Rank endured, who were ſeized near *Narva*, and afterwards kept as Priſoners of War, or in Proceſs of time fell into the hands of the *Swedes*; how many of them were obliged to lie in Dungeons under Ground among condemned Malefactors, where they ſuffered great Hardſhips, and were expoſed to all ſorts of Brutality. This being already notorious to all the World, we ſhall content our ſelves with expoſing to View other Enormities committed on the part of *Sweden*.

In the Year 1704, when the Saxon Army and the Ruſſian Auxiliaries retired to the Frontiers of *Sileſia* upon the Approach of the Swediſh Army, who under the King's Command was marching to *Saxony*, a numerous Swediſh Detachment met with a ſmall Party of Ruſſians and put them to Flight; a few of the Ruſſians retired into a Cottage, and begged Quarter of the *Swedes*, but the latter purſuant to their King's Orders, would not grant it, but ſurrounded the Houſe, ſet Fire

to

to it, and burned the poor People in a moſt miſerable manner.

Many of thoſe who about the ſame time were taken Priſoners, were afterwards partly murthered in cold Blood, partly had their Fingers and Toes cut off, a thing which even Barbarians will judge to be abominable.

The following Inſtance will ſhew that this is matter of Fact.

In the Year 1705 two ſuch mangled Ruſſian Soldiers arrived in his Czariſh Majeſty's Dominions, and were ſent to *Moskow*, where his Majeſty ſhewed them to the foreign Miniſters then reſiding there, *viz.* Mr. *Whitworth* her Britannick Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, M. *Von-Kayſerling*, his Pruſſian Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, and M. *Vander-Hulſt*, Reſident of their Highmightineſſes the States-General of the United Netherlands, who having the Curioſity to view their Hands and Feet themſelves, found them actually mangled in this manner; upon their asking the Soldiers, how this happened, the latter gave the following Account: That a good Number of them being taken Priſoners by ſeveral Parties, and the Swediſh Army being ſoon after upon the point of decamping, the greateſt part of them were maſſacred by the King's Orders, and the reſt, among whom they were themſelves, had their Fingers and Toes cut off. The ſaid Soldiers took a corporal Oath that this was actually ſo done, that the King had ordered it, and was himſelf preſent to ſee it executed.

At the ſame time the King of *Sweden* cauſed ſome hundreds of *Coſacks* his Czariſh Majeſty's Subjects, who had been taken Priſoners, inhumanly to be beaten to Death,

not

not with military Arms, but with Sticks and Clubs.

Again, in the Year 1706, when his Polish Majesty's Body of Saxon Forces, and his Czarish Majesty's Auxiliaries came to an Action with the Swedes near *Fraustat*, in which the latter obtained the Victory, and took some hundred Prisoners being partly Russians, partly Saxons, their commanding Officers carried their unheard-of Cruelty so far, that they ordered them four or five Days after they had been taken, miserably to be stabbed or otherwise put to Death.

The same Year some Incendiaries were seized in *Ukraina*, who had set Fire to many Towns and Boroughs in his Czarish Majesty's Dominions; they confessed that some of their Gang were sent by the King himself, and others by the Generals according to his Orders, to burn and destroy as many Places as possible, for which they had received a certain Sum of Money, and Promises of another great Sum, after their Return, in case they had well executed their Commission.

In the Years 1708 and 1709, when the King of *Sweden*, relying on *Mazeppa*'s Treachery, marched with his Army into his Czarish Majesty's Dominions, his Forces in many Places most miserably murthered the poor Country-People with their Wives and Children, though they offered not the least Resistance.

To proceed, in the Year 1709, when the whole Swedish Army was defeated near *Poltawa*, and the Russians came to the Place where the Swedish Baggage stood, they saw with Astonishment, that the Stables of many of the Generals and Officers, for Horses and Cows,

Cows, were filled with abundance of Images, as that of our Saviour, of the holy Virgin, of the Apoſtles and other Saints, which had been taken out of the Churches to make Doors and Stalls for Horſes of them inſtead of common Boards; of others they had made Tables for Draughts, which without doubt was done with no other Deſign than to ſcoff at and jeſt with Religion, there being other Boards and Wood enough to be found in thoſe Parts, ſo that there was no Occaſion for deſpoiling the Churches, and profaning ſacred things. In Teſtimony of the Truth whereof his Czariſh Majeſty with his Generals and Miniſters went to view thoſe Places himſelf.

When his Swediſh Majeſty ſojourned in *Turkey*, his Czariſh Majeſty's Ambaſſadors reſiding at *Conſtantinople* made Report to Court on the 19th of December, that they had been informed, that the King of *Sweden* had cauſed about one hundred Souls of his Czariſh Majeſty's Subjects in *Great* and *Leſſer Ruſſia* to be delivered up to the Baſhaw of *Bender*, deſiring him to ſend them to the Sultan to *Conſtantinople* as a Preſent for his Gallies, which had been done accordingly, and that then already half the Number of them had periſhed under the inſupportable Slavery on the Gallies and in the Gally-Dungeons. There being then no Swediſh Miniſter at the *Porte*, the ſaid Ambaſſadors ſent a Deputy to complain of it to the Miniſter of *Holſtein*, M. *Fabricius*, who was at that time with the King of *Sweden*; they alſo proteſted againſt it to the Ambaſſadors of the Republicks of *Venice* and of *Holland*, and to the Imperial Reſident, M. *Von-Fleiſchman*, deſiring them to write to the Swe-

diſh Miniſters on that Subject, that they might take care to ſee thoſe Chriſtians ſuffering on the Gallies ſet at Liberty, or that otherwiſe his Czariſh Majeſty would uſe Reprizals, and ſend perhaps double the Number and more Swediſh Priſoners to his own Gallies: But thoſe Repreſentations which were given in Writing, not only had not the intended Effect as to the Liberty of his Czariſh Majeſty's ſaid Subjects, but the Swediſh Miniſters even did not think it worth their while to return an Anſwer to them.

Every unprejudiced Perſon now may judge, whether ſuch a Behaviour is agreeable to the Cuſtoms of Chriſtian and polite Nations. On the other hand it will be hard for the Swedes to prove that on the Czar's ſide they met with the like Uſage; on the contrary, among other Inſtances of his Czariſh Majeſty's Magnanimity, and of the Abhorrence the Ruſſian Forces had of ſhedding even their Enemies Blood, it may be alledged, that in the Year 1704, when the Fortreſs of *Narva* was taken by Aſſault not without great Bloodſhed, as ſoon as his Czariſh Majeſty arrived in Perſon and forbad all further Slaughter, they in an Inſtant reſpected and obeyed that Order, ſo, that to the great Admiration of the Field-Marſhal *Ogilvy* and other Foreigners, not one Man more was killed, a thing very uncommon even among the beſt diſciplined Troops, on ſuch Occaſions when their Minds are exaſperated and furious.

It was the ſame caſe in the deciſive Battle of *Poltawa*, with reſpect to thoſe, who in the midſt of the Fire begged for Quarter, as alſo when the Fortreſs of *Elbing* in Poliſh *Pruſſia*, garriſoned

garriſoned by the *Swedes*, was taken by Storm, and on other Occaſions more.

Should any of the *Swedes* or of their Party object againſt the Ruſſian Nation, that the Swediſh Generals, who were taken Priſoners, were ſent to very remote Parts in the Ruſſian Dominions, and ſome of the common Soldiers put to hard Labour; as alſo that many of them were ſold to the Infidels; we anſwer: Firſt, That it is but too well known with what Reſpect the Swediſh Generals and Officers were uſed, and what Liberty they all along enjoyed at *Moskow*, and in other Towns and Places, till there was Information, in what cruel manner the *Swedes* had treated the Ruſſian Generals and Officers in their Country, that they had diſperſed them up and down in the Towns and Fortreſſes, and kept them in hard Priſons: and then it naturally followed that Orders were given, to ſend the ſaid Swediſh Generals and Officers from *Moſkow* to other Places, yet ſo that they ſhould be civilly uſed, and every one be allowed his Conveniency. The other Officers and common Soldiers were of Neceſſity to be diſtributed in the Towns of the Country, there being no Room for them in one Place, conſidering that above twenty thouſand Combatants were taken Priſoners. And had not his Czariſh Majeſty had Compaſſion with the common Soldiers, and ordered them to be ſupplyed with Money and neceſſary Subſiſtence, they had long ago periſhed with Hunger, eſpecially thoſe who have learnt no Trade to get a Livelihood by, and are even glad, if they are employed in Day-Labourer's Work, and maintained by it. For ſeeing that nei-

ther they nor even the Officers received the leaſt Pay during the whole War, every one endeavours to live by the Work of his own Hands as well as he is able, and even many of the Officers are forced to make ſhift to live by inſtructing Children in dancing and Muſick, ſome even by ſetting up Puppetſhews and other ſuch Profeſſions unbecoming Officers, which however cannot be charged upon his Czariſh Majeſty.

The ſecond Objection, that the Priſoners were ſold to the Infidels, ariſes from this: His Czariſh Majeſty in the Beginning of the War being obliged, for want of regular Cavalry, to make uſe of undiſciplined Horſe, moſtly conſiſting of *Coſacks*, who according to their Cuſtom have no Regard for Diſcipline, Orders or Inhibitions, thoſe People found Opportunities of carrying away ſeveral of the Country People, ſome of whom they kept for their own Work, and a few others they ſold, according to their Cuſtom, into the neighbouring Countries. But as ſoon as his Czariſh Majeſty was informed of this Practice, he not only cauſed it to be forbidden on Pain of Death throughout his whole Empire, but alſo ſtrict Orders were given to the Governors and Commanders on the Frontiers, to take the utmoſt Care that none of the Swediſh Priſoners be carried over the Frontiers on what Pretence ſoever. This ſoon put a Stop to that Abuſe, which in Effect was not ſo great a Hardſhip as what had been done on the Swediſh ſide, as above related, their King himſelf having ſent a Number of Chriſtians as a Preſent for the *Turk*, to ſerve on his Gallies. To the foreſaid Inſtances of the Swediſh

diſh Proceedings contrary to the Reaſons of War and the Cuſtom of civilized Nations, this may alſo be added: In the Year 1714, his Czariſh Majeſty at the Deſire of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Ulrica* in *Sweden*, diſmiſſed a Captain of Horſe, Baron *Roſenhahn*, a Priſoner, to return to *Sweden*, ſending with him a Ruſſian Adjutant, whoſe Name was *Tzchebiſchoff*, who was to preſent the ſaid Captain to the Princeſs, and at the ſame time to inform himſelf of the State of the Ruſſian Priſoners, and to make Propoſals for exchanging them; but inſtead of a Return for that Civility, the ſaid Adjutant was ſeized in *Sweden*, and is to this Day uſed like a Priſoner of War.

In the Year 1715 Prince *Golitzin* ſent the Captain-Lieutenant *Daſchkoli* from *Livonia*, with a Half-Galley to the Swediſh Fleet, to deliver according to former Cuſtom, Letters from the Swediſh Priſoners in *Ruſſia*, which way of correſponding alſo from *Sweden* to *Ruſſia* was very common: But the ſaid Captain-Lieutenant was ſeized with all his Men, without any Reaſon, and they ſtill continue Priſoners.

The ſame happened to another Sea-Lieutenant *Michucow*, who was alſo ſent thither on a Brigantine with ſuch Letters, but was in the ſame manner detained with his Veſſel and all the Men.

The ſame Year the Swediſh Major-General *Horn*, at his Deſire, was diſmiſſed for *Sweden*, upon his Bond, and Security in writing given by the other Swediſh Generals, either to procure the exchanging of the Ruſſian General *Golowin* againſt himſelf or other Swediſh Priſoners,

ſoners, or in caſe the ſame ſhould be refuſed, to ſurrender himſelf again: But he not only for his own Perſon ſtayed behind, nor was the leaſt Reſolution given upon theſe Propoſals; they even contrary to the Cuſtoms of War, ſeized the Galley on board which he went over, with all the Officers and Men belonging to it, who, according to Information, were confined to hard Priſons like Priſoners of War. Whereas on the contrary on the part of *Ruſſia* never any of the Perſons ſent by the Swedes were detained, but rather uſed with all imaginable Civility, and permitted to return.

We might alledge many other Inſtances, how the *Swedes* proceeded contrary to the Uſage and Cuſtoms of War, and the general Law of all civilized Nations; yet as we are perſuaded that what has been above related will be ſufficient to make every one judge, which of the two Parties behaved with the more Diſcretion and Moderation; we will here conclude, in Hopes that we have diſcharged our Promiſe, and made out what we promiſed in the Beginning of this Work.

And ſo we are perſuaded, the gentle Reader will have been ſufficiently informed by this ſhort Treatiſe, for what Reaſons the War was begun, and why it has continued ſo long, as alſo, who was the Cauſe of it, and what Conduct has been obſerved on both Sides. But as a War, as long as it laſts, is not very pleaſing in it ſelf, but is generally attended with all ſorts of Hardſhips and Inconveniencies, there are many Perſons found in this Country who complain of it, and appear male-content: This, with ſome, proceeds from Ignorance, others

others are miſled by the Inſinuations of thoſe that bear us an ill Will, and there is a third Party of them, who fret to ſee, that uſeleſs Burthens of the Society are kept out of Poſts of Honour. I ſhall anſwer thoſe of the ſecond Sort firſt, by telling them, that Envy never diſcerns what is good or advantageous, and that there is no arguing againſt Malice. People of that Stamp are like Robbers on the High-way whom nothing will appeaſe or ſatisfy: Let a Man give up to them all he is worth, that will not content them, they will take away his Life too, though they gain nothing by it.

Thoſe of the third Sort, though they deſerve no Anſwer, yet I muſt put them in mind of the Words of the Apoſtle, who will not allow lazy People even to eat, Idleneſs being the Root of all Evil. I will therefore not trouble my ſelf about moralizing with them, but turn to thoſe of the firſt Sort, who upon the main perhaps mean well, and whoſe Murmuring and Diſcontent only proceeds from Ignorance.

Thoſe ought firſt of all to remember the Words of St. *Nicodemus*, which are mentioned in the Goſpel, when the Jews were murmuring againſt *Chriſt: Doth our Law judge any Man before it hears him, and know what he doth?* For the ſame Reaſon we ought not to judge before we know and underſtand the Buſineſs. Was the Caſe to be argued with any of thoſe Male-contents, all that they could alledge would amount to this: (1.) Why was this War begun? (2.) Why does it continue ſo long; would it not be better to make Peace, ſhould we yield up never ſo much?

As to the firſt Queſtion, there is no Occaſion for anſwering it any more, foraſmuch as it has been amply diſcuſſed in this Treatiſe.

As to the ſecond Point, I ſhall ſay in Anſwer, that not we, but the Enemy themſelves are the Cauſe of the long Continuance of this War; as likewiſe ſufficiently appears by what is ſaid above, *viz.* that frequent Meſſages were ſent and repeated Propoſals for Peace made to *Sweden*, not only at the Time when they were moſt formidable, but alſo when their Power was entirely defeated near *Poltawa*. If ſuch a Male-content ſhould further reply, that the Enemy cannot conſent to a Peace, becauſe we will not reſtore the many Countries that have been taken from him; but that the Peace will certainly enſue, if we reſign them again: That we could do without theſe Provinces in former Times, and might now as well reſtore them as we did the Fortreſſes which had been taken from *Sweden* in the preceding Wars? To this I anſwer, that there is no Compariſon to be made between thoſe Times and Conjunctures and the preſent. For as the celebrated Hiſtorian *Pufendorf* obſerved in his *Introduction to Hiſtory*, the *Swedes* at that Time reaſoned of us in a very different manner from what they do now, and looked upon us as but a blind Nation. Nor were it only the *Swedes*, but alſo other and remote Nations, who always entertained Envy and Jealouſy againſt *Ruſſia*, and made it their Buſineſs to keep this Nation in perpetual Ignorance and Blindneſs, particularly with regard to military Affairs and Navigation, as plainly enough appears from the Hiſtories of the laſt Centuries, according to what here follows:

In

In the Year 1532. a Reſolution was taken by the unanimous Conſent of the City of *Lubeck* and the other Hans-Towns, that no Perſon ſhould trade to *Narva*, and that whoever did, ſhould be looked upon as infamous, and be debarred all trading. The Intent of which Convention was to hinder, that none of the *Germans* who traded to *Narva* might remove to the *Ruſſian Narva* or *Ivanogorod*, and teach the Ruſſians Navigation, the Art of War and Gunnery. For they conſidered, that if *Ruſſia*, which contained the greateſt part of the Northern Countries, ſhould raiſe a Fleet, and make near *Narva* a Sea-Port, Magazins and Places of Arms, ſhe would be inabled to invade with her Forces not only *Livonia*, but even *Germany:* That this had been the Caſe with the *Turks*, who, after they had learnt Navigation and Ship-building of the *Genoeſe*, who only minded their private Intereſt by trading, began to build a Fleet of their own, croſſed the *Helleſpont*, took *Conſtantinople*, and ſoon after over-run *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and the whole *Morea*; as *Thuanus* relates in his Hiſtory, *Lib.* XXXVI; of which may alſo be read *Joh. Loccenius de poteſtate maritima*. Purſuant to this Convention no Merchant-Ships went to *Narva* for a conſiderable time.

But in the time of the Czar *John Baſilides*, when the Merchants of *Lubeck* reſumed the Trade to *Narva*, they ſuffered great Vexation from all Sides, and even Complaints were made againſt them at *Vienna* to the Roman Emperor *Ferdinand*. However the Emperor being well inclined towards the *Lubeckers*, allowed them to trade to *Ruſſia*, and explained the Prohibition

bition that had been iſſued againſt it, in this manner: "That only no Arms or Ammuni-
"tion ſhould be carried to *Ruſſia*, but that
"it ſhould be free to export thither other
"Goods: with this Addition, that he, the
"Emperor, had the Confidence in the *Lubeck*
"Merchants, they would take ſtrict Care
"that no Arms be exported to *Ruſſia*, con-
"ſidering it might prove pernicious to the
"Roman Empire of *Germany*;" as may be read in the foreſaid Author in the above Quotation. Nevertheleſs the *Lubeck* Merchants began to carry to *Ruſſia* beſides the Merchandize allowed, Brimſtone, Iron, Braſs, Copper, Lead and other Ammunition; which highly incenſed the King of *Sweden Ericus*, (though he was at that time in Peace with the Czar *John Baſilides*) againſt the *Lubeckers*, that he cauſed their Ships to be ſeized, as may be read in the foreſaid Author, *l. c.* On that Occaſion the *Lubeckers* ſent a Deputation to the ſaid Czar, deſiring his Interceſſion and Aſſiſtance againſt the King of *Sweden*; but the Czar *John Baſilides* returned Anſwer, that he would protect the *Lubeck* Traders in his own Dominions, but that he could not aſſiſt them abroad, being in Peace with the King of *Sweden*. See the ſame Author, *l. c.* Now let one draw the Parallel between the reciprocal Conduct of the King of *Sweden* towards the Czar *John Baſilides*, and that of the latter towards the King of *Sweden*.

In the Year 1556 *Guſtavus* I. King of *Sweden* wrote to the King of *Denmark* in the following Terms: "Whereas the *Engliſh* have
"diſcovered a new and unuſual Way over the

"*Icy*

" *Icy Sea* round about *Norway* to the Port, " called St. *Nicholas* * in *Ruſſia*, which can- " not fail occaſioning irreparable Damage " to all the neighbouring Countries, and to " the Places and Towns ſituate on the *Bal-* " *tick*, if all ſorts of warlike Stores and Arms " ſhould be carried to *Ruſſia*, by the means " of which the Ruſſians ſhould arm them- " ſelves againſt the reſt of Chriſtendom, and " endeavour to bring all *Europe* under their " Yoke, in the ſame manner as the *Turks* " have done in *Aſia* and *Africa*; it is there- " fore my friendly Deſire, King *Frederick* of " *Denmark* will be pleaſed, not only for his " own Intereſt but alſo for that of the other " States of Chriſtendom, to obſtruct the ſaid " Navigation of the *Engliſh*, in order to a- " vert the impending Danger:" See *Joh. Loccenius* in his *Hiſtory of Sweden* Lib. vi. pag. 360. of the firſt Edition printed at *Upſala*.

The ſaid King *Guſtavus* wrote to the ſame Effect in his own Name and on the part of all the Merchants, to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, who thereupon returned the following Anſwer: " I can by no means forbid " to my Subjects free Navigation wherever " they pleaſe, however I will give Orders " that no Arms be ſhipped off for *Ruſſia*." *Loccenius* l. c.

Anno 1558, the Czar *John Baſilides*, appointed *Narva* a Town then in his Poſſeſſion, to be a trading Place for foreign Merchants, upon which the *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *French* Merchant Ships forthwith reſorted thither in great numbers. This was an Eye-

* Archangel.

ſore

ſore to the Maſter of the *Teutonick Order* and the Archbiſhop of *Riga*, who complained of it to the Roman Emperor *Ferdinand*, as of an Affair dangerous and prejudicial to the whole Roman Empire; but their Complaints had not that Weight with the ſaid Emperor, as to make him put a ſtop to that Commerce. See again *Thuanus* Lib. LI.

Of late times, the Swediſh Miniſter Count *Steenbock* adviſed his King after the victorious Battle of *Narva*, by an expreſs Letter, to take care not long to continue the War, nor thereby give an Opportunity to the Ruſſians of learning military Exerciſe, which in time might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence for *Sweden*.

We will relate an Affair of ſtill greater Weight. After the taking of the Fortreſs of *Narva*, there was among the Priſoners who were ſent to *Sweden*, a Doctor of Phyſick, *Gregory Carbonarius*, who after his Return publickly declared, that he had there unqueſtionable Information, that the *Swedes* had long before meditated a War againſt *Ruſſia*, for which a Project had already been formed, chiefly with the deſign of ſeizing the Towns of *Novogorod*, *Pleskow*, *Alonetz*, *Kargapol*, and *Archangel*, thereby entirely to cut off the Ruſſians from the Commerce with Foreigners. And though at that time his Words met with no great Credit, yet after the taking of *Riga* and *Reval*, the ſame being confirmed by ſeveral Swediſh Subjects that were made Priſoners, was found but too true; and that the *Swedes* had deferred that Enterprize only with the Deſign of waiting a fair Opportunity for executing it.

As soon as his Czarish Majesty began to break his former Infantry, called *Strelitzes*, by reason of their repeated Rebellions; and to form regular Troops in their room, the *Swedes* were firmly resolved to take up Arms against *Russia* on the first Opportunity: Their Resident even solemnly protested in hard Terms against the introducing of regular Forces, alledging that his King could not suffer such an Innovation. But this Design of *Sweden* was hindered by the Death of King *Charles* XI. which soon ensued. Nevertheless they intended to begin a War two or three Years after, if we had not prevented them on our Side.

Now let one consider; if already at that time the Neighbours of *Russia* had conceived such a Jealousy against this Crown, when there hardly appeared a Dawn of its Glory, and when they had but begun to introduce good Regulations; what must not be expected at present, when by the Assistance of Almighty God, *Russia* is become so formidable that we now see a Nation who were the Terror of almost all *Europe*, vanquished by the Russians. And I dare say, Thanks to God alone, they dread no Power whatsoever so much as *Russia*.

We therefore who have been raised to this Pitch of Glory, chiefly by the Help and Assistance of the Almighty, and next by the wise Administration and indefatigable Cares of our most gracious Czar and Lord, who not only has put his Land-Forces upon a regular Foot, and inured them to all the Arts of War, but has also raised a Fleet of Ships and Gallies, of which hardly any thing was known before

fore in *Ruſſia*, beſide the bare Name: We, I ſay, ought not to murmur and ſhew Diſcontent on account of the Continuance of the War, but rather bear the Weight of it with Patience and Magnanimity, and uſe our inceſſant and utmoſt Efforts, with the Help of the Almighty to bring this War to a Period, and to obtain an advantageous and laſting Peace.

At the ſame time let us conſider; if by reſtoring certain Places to this enraged Neighbour, we ſuffer him to re-eſtabliſh himſelf on this ſide of the *Baltick*, and to ſettle in the midſt of us, what Good can we reaſonably expect from him for the future? Should not we rather make our ſelves ridiculous to the whole World, if, after having undergone ſuch Fatigues for ſeventeen Years ſucceſſively, after having obtained ſo much Glory and eſtabliſhed our Security, we ſhould again expoſe our ſelves to everlaſting Danger and Shame without the leaſt Neceſſity? For at preſent, by the Grace of God, we purſue the War in ſuch a manner that we hardly are ſenſible where it is carried on, no more than if it was in the *Indies*. But ſhould we, without any regard to the Glory, Honour and Advantages we have obtained, make Peace (as the Malecontents would have it) and ſuffer thoſe Neighbours to come ſo near us again as before, what Tranquillity can we promiſe to our ſelves in this Caſe? Certainly none at all, we muſt rather expect all ſorts of Troubles, Calamities, and even the Ruin of our own Country.

For it is plain by what is ſaid above, what malicious Intrigues and Machinations thoſe Enemies

Enemies already carried on againſt the Ruſſian Empire, at a time when on the Ruſſian Side there was not ſo much as any ill Thought againſt them. How much leſs can we promiſe to our ſelves the leaſt Tranquillity on their Part, at the preſent time, when they look upon us as being formidable, when all thoſe things, which they at firſt were only afraid of, have been brought about, and when we have incenſed them againſt us to ſuch a degree?

They will ſo much the more ſeek Opportunities to undermine us, and to diſable us from ever being in a Condition of undertaking any thing of Importance; they will endeavour to reduce us ſo low, as not to give them the leaſt Apprehenſion, and to put it out of our Power to attempt any thing.

And here I conclude, deſiring the gentle Reader to give a kind Reception to this Diſcourſe, which I have drawn up according to my ſmall Talent without any ſhew of Learning or Oratory, and to be perſuaded that every Particular in it has been repreſented according to Truth, as taken from credible Authorities and Records.

THE

THE PROJECT OF SOME Doctors of the *SORBONE*

For uniting the

TWO CHURCHES OF *ROME* and *RUSSIA*,

As it was by them delivered to the Czar at *Paris* in the Year 1717.

THE

PROJECT

OF SOME

Doctors of the SORBONE

For uniting the

TWO CHURCHES

OF

ROME and RUSSIA.

As it was by them delivered to the Czar
at Paris in the Year 1717.

Scriptum aliquod Doctorum quorundam Sorbonicorum auguſtiſſimo Ruſſorum imperatori ad utriuſque eccleſiæ unionem ei ſuadendam exhibitum.

INTER cætera quæ Pariſiis curioſe luſtranda ſuſceperat auguſtiſſimus Magnæ Ruſſiæ Imperator, nec præterire voluit ædes Sorbonicas, ad quas ſe contulit die 14. Junii. Cum vero bibliothecam ingreſſus præ aliis, quæ ſuo digna conſpectu viſa ſunt, in nonnullos codices de rebus ad religionem ſpectantibus lingua Slavonica conſcriptos incidiſſet, ſeque multa affabilitate in ſermonem dediſſet theologis hujus domus, inde illi data occaſione verbum reverenter injecere de religione Ruthenorum, deque ſingulari acceſſione laudis, quæ tanto imperatori accreſceret, ſi Ruthenorum eccleſiæ cum Romana conciliandæ & ad pacem adducendæ allaboraret; rem vero non ita difficilem, ſi placide & in charitatis ſpiritu tractaretur; quibus reſponſum dedit humaniſſimus imperator: intercedere quidem inter utramque eccleſiam aliquot diſſenſionis capita quorum duo indicavit: ſuum vero non eſſe,

lites istas componere, ut qui homo sit studiis rei militaris, variisque regni regendi occupationibus deditus: Cæterum, si cum ecclesiæ suæ episcopis rem scripto conferre voluerint doctores Sorbonici, facturum se auctoritate sua, ut illos ad rescribendum adducat.

Hac sponsione optimi Principis excitati qui tum aderant theologi Sorbonici, scriptionem hanc Czareæ Majestati offerunt, eo fidentius quod excellentissimi imperatoris consilia non sine admiratione videant in eo versari, ut imperii sui splendorem non bellicis modo virtutibus atque artium liberalium disciplinis promoveat, verum etiam religionis laude, a qua demum pendere intelligit regum atque imperiorum felicitatem ac firmitatem.

Traditum illud imprimis & studiosissime commendatum legimus ab apostolo, ut soliciti simus servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, quoniam unus est Deus, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma: cujus quidem unitatis procurandæ non leve adjumentum est, quod apud Ruthenos non occurrant consensionis impedimenta quæ apud Protestantes variasque Orientis sectas obvia esse, dolenter experimur.

Profitetur nobiscum ecclesia Ruthena supremæ Dei Majestatis unitatem, & trium sanctissimæ trinitatis personarum consubstantialitatem, atque veterum juxta ac recentiorum Arianorum blasphemias aversatur. Profitetur nobiscum, quæcunque dogmata circa unionem hypostaticam & distinctionem duplicis in Christo naturæ, Deo revelante accepimus. Profitetur nobiscum, quæ catholica fides docet, de peccato originali, de redemtione per Jesum Christum, de necessario ad omnes & singulos pietatis actus gratiæ divinæ adjutorio. Profitetur nobiscum instituta a Chri-

sto

ſto in eccleſia ſeptem ſacramenta, panem & vinum in altaris incruento ſacrificio ſubſtantialiter converti in corpus & ſanguinem Chriſti & in euchariſtia realiter præſenti Chriſto Domino ſupremum latriæ cultum impendit.

Colit nobiſcum & invocat beatiſſimam virginem Deiparam, ſanctoſque una cum Chriſto regnantes in cœlis: nobiſcum ſanctorum reliquias veneratur, ſacraſque imagines eo proſequitur honore qui ad earum prototypa referatur. Impendit nobiſcum precationes, eleemoſynas, ſacrificia pro fidelibus in pace & communione eccleſiæ vita functis, certa fide tenens, iis ſuffragiis illorum animas poſſe ſublevari, ſi quid pœnarum ſupereſt divinæ juſtitiæ exſolvendum. Agnoſcit nobiſcum eccleſiæ conceſſam eſſe a Chriſto poteſtatem condendi leges, quibus parere debeant ex officio fideles univerſi, cujuſmodi eſt ſancta lex jejunii & abſtinentiæ a carnibus certis temporibus ab eccleſia præſcriptis.

Denique ne in recenſendis quæ Ruſſorum pariter ac noſtra ſunt, fidei capitibus diutius immoremur, nobiſcum ſuſcipiunt Ruſſi ac venerantur ſcripturas divinitus inſpiratas, ſanctamque eccleſiæ traditionem ut fidei certiſſimas regulas: nobiſcum agnoſcunt eccleſiam unam, viſibilem, catholicam, ſuprèmum atque infallibilem in decidendis fidei controverſiis judicem: denique extra hanc unam, ſanctam, catholicam & apoſtolicam eccleſiam nullam ſperari poſſe ſalutem nobiſcum confitentur. Jam vero ſi extra unitatem eccleſiæ nulla ſalutis ſpes effulgeat, uti docent ſacri codices perpetuaque traditio: ſi diſſenſiones & ſectas ea inter peccata numerare apoſtolus Paulus [a] non dubitet, quæ qui agant regnum Dei

[a] Gal. v. 20.

non consequentur: quanta demum cura quantoque studio enitendum est viris Christianis, ut ad perfectam concordiam perveniant, & si quid morarum ibi sit, quam primum amoliantur.

Ecquid enim vero erit moræ, quo minus rei Christianæ accedat excellentissimum illud ac desideratissimum bonum, ut in unitatem redeat ecclesia Russorum cum Latina? An caput aliquod ad disciplinam pertinens? Atqui varia potest vigere in variis ecclesiæ partibus disciplina salva unitate. In plurimis provinciis, inquit S. Firmilianus, [b] *multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur: nec tamen propter hoc ab ecclesiæ catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Eadem fusius docet S. Augustinus* [c]*: Sit ergo una fides, inquit, universæ, quæ per orbem terrarum dilatatur, ecclesiæ tanquam intus in membris, etiamsi ipsa fidei unitas quibusdam diversis observationibus celebratur, quibus nullo modo, quod in fide verum est, impeditur. Omnis enim pulchritudo filiæ regis intrinsecus, illæ autem observationes, quæ variæ celebrantur, in ejus veste intelliguntur. Unde ibi dicitur: in fimbriis aureis circumamicta varietate. Sed ea quoque vestis ita diversis celebrationibus varietur, ut non adversis contentionibus dissipetur, &c. Et quidem ad infausta usque Cærularii tempora pacem & concordiam diversæ quamvis obsequens disciplinæ, oriens occidensque servabat. Quid? quod in his Latinorum partibus diversas pro locis videas consuetudines obtinere: quin immo quicunque e Græcis communionis nobiscum commercia renovarunt, suis ipsi vivunt moribus. Nihil igitur ob-*

[b] Epist. inter Cyprian. LXXV. n. 4. [c] Epist. XXXVI. ad Cas. n. 22.

stabit,

stabit, quo minus suam sibi quoque servare possit ecclesia Ruthena disciplinam, adeoque in pane fermentato offerre, dummodo contrariam praxin non improbet, adeoque validam apud Latinos consecrationem in azymo fateatur: quemadmodum validam agnoscunt Theophylactus, Demetrius Comatenus episcopus Cypri, Barlaam, Gregorius Protosyncellus & alii inter Græcos eruditione & moderatione conspicui. Nihil porro periculi foret, ne alios quoque ejusdem ecclesiæ ritus Romanus pontifex abrogaret, quemadmodum nec nos receptas in ecclesia Gallicana consuetudines ab ipso unquam abrogandas timemus, cum etiam id eum non posse doceamus.

Eritne in ipsa ecclesiæ hierarchia seu regimine quidquam quo impediri queat ac retardari optatissima illa ecclesiæ utriusque concordia? Etsi autem nulla re magis affici ac moveri videtur ecclesia Russorum, præcipuæ tamen hac in parte difficultates evanescent, si sublatis ambagibus res ipsa dilucide & concise proponatur. Docemus inprimis episcopos jure divino successores esse apostolorum & Christi vicarios: Romanumque pontificem, qui legitimus est S. Petri successor, jure itidem divino primum episcoporum esse, ac primum Christi vicarium, eoque nomine unitatis centrum, ac communionis visibile vinculum: ex quo habet apostolica ejus sedes potentiorem principalitatem, ut loquitur S. Irenæus, quam quælibet alia singulatim sedes, ad invigilandum in universa ecclesia observationi sacrorum canonum fideique & unitatis conservationi, ut docet S. Cyprianus. Primatum hunc Romani pontificis in evangelicis verbis fundatum, avita priorum ecclesia seculorum traditione testatum, agnoverunt octo illa prima, quæ ecclesia Ruthena suscipit, concilia œcumenica. Hoc unum est circa

primatum Romani pontificis, quod in universa ecclesia concordi & unanimi fide tenemus. Cætera, in quibus non eadem est consensio inter Catholicos, non sunt ejusmodi dogmata, quæ in fidei catholicæ regula seu professione continentur. Id novissime agnovit ipse sanctissimus papa, dum celebratissimum opus pro exponenda & a protestantium calumniis vindicanda ecclesiæ catholicæ fide ab uno episcopo e nostratibus præstantissimo elaboratum, solenni approbatione firmavit. Revera Gallorum est doctrina, illam, quam sancta sedes obtinet, in universa ecclesia & super singulos ecclesiæ pastores in particulari, autoritatem non permissam esse arbitrio Romani pontificis, aut ejus nutu ac voluntate metiendam; sed ipsius usum juxta sacros canones Spiritu Dei conditos, & priorum seculorum reverentia consecratos, esse moderandum: pastorum collegio concessum esse immediate a Christo Domino superiorem potestatem, cui obedire tenetur vel ipse papa, in his quæ pertinent ad fidem, extirpationem schismatis & reformationem ecclesiæ, quod definitum est a conciliis nostris œcumenicis, Constantiensi & Basileensi, solenniter declaratum a clero Gallicano, atque a sacro Parisiensium theologorum ordine perpetuo propugnatum. Item tenemus, judicium Romani pontificis non esse infallibilem fidei regulam, nisi accesserit consentiens universalis ecclesiæ judicium: potestati papæ, utpote mere spirituali, nullum a Christo concessum jus, sive directum, sive indirectum, in temporalia regna: nec posse illum cujuslibet rei, ne quidem religionis obtentu, subditos ab obsequio erga principes, aut fidelitatis sacramento absolvere. Isthæc porro & teneri & doceri a nobis norunt Romani, & si qui sint, qui jura pontificis longius protendentes diversi quid a nobis sentiant:

ſentiant: quia tamen fidem ipſam primatus Romani non attingunt iſta diverſarum ſententiarum diſſidia, pacem idcirco & nos cum illis non rumpimus nec nobiſcum illi abrumpunt, ſed omnes in una communione perſtamus. Illud tamen addimus, quicquid autoritatis hodierno jure circa epiſcoporum electionem, aut confirmationem, vel etiam circa materiam diſpenſationum exercetur à Romano pontifice, ſive propter eccleſiarum conceſſiones, ſive propter concordata cum regibus inita, ſive propter patriarchicam illius dignitatem, id inquam autoritatis minime protenſum iri in eas eccleſias in quibus uſu (non) invaluit hoc politiæ genus; nec id quidem, quandocunque de concilianda pace inter utramque Latinorum & Græcorum eccleſiam actum eſt, pro conditione propoſitum legimus. Quid demum obeſſet, quo minus Ruſſi cum Latinis in concordiam adducerentur? num illorum de proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti ſententia? Atqui nec circa hoc caput difficilis & operoſa fuerit conſenſio, modo controverſias dirimere animus ſit, non lites protrahere. Primum quidem profitetur Eccleſia Ruthena, ſpiritum S. procedere a patre per filium; Latina vero, ſpiritum S. a patre & filio procedere. Extat utraque hæc loquendi ratio apud ſanctos patres, quorum auctoritatem eccleſia utraque reveretur. Obſervant ſancti Baſilius M. & Gregorius theologus, unum quid & idem ſonare iſta duo ἐξ & διὰ de & per, *unde prædictas locutiones legitimo ſenſu intellectas in eandem plane ſententiam concurrere docent inſigniores theologi. Ecquid enim vero ſibi vult, ſpiritum S. procedere a patre & per filium? an id unum, ut contendunt Græcorum nonnulli paci non ſatis faventes, ſpiritum S. procedere quidem a patre, patrem vero & filium unius ejuſdemque eſſe ſubſtantiæ* (οὐσίας). *Atqui*

ſi

ſi ea demum ſit hujus locutionis interpretatio, eadem prorſus ratione dici poterit, filium procedere a patre per ſpiritum S. cum & filius procedat a patre, & pater & ſpiritus S. unius ſint ejuſdemque ſubſtantiæ. Porro filium procedere a patre per ſpiritum ſanctum nemo Græcorum dixerit. Igitur latiori quodam ſenſu intelligi debet, quod in ſanctorum patrum ſcriptis legimus, ſpiritum ſanctum procedere a patre per filium (eos non tantum) unius ejuſdemque eſſe ſubſtantiæ, verum etiam perſonam utramque unum idemque eſſe principium, ac ſimul de utroque ſpiritum S. procedere, quamvis hoc filio pater dederit, ut, quemadmodum de ſe, ita de illo quoque procedat: ut, ſi lumen ab altero lumine ſit accenſum, amboque tertium communiter producant, (qua ſimilitudine utitur S. Gregorius Nyſſenus) [d] tunc illud tertium non ſolum a primo proxime, ſed etiam a primo per alterum procedere, recte proprieque dicitur: atque hoc ipſum eſt quod eccleſia Latina confitetur; dum credit ſpiritum S. a patre filioque procedere, ac proinde unam & eandem ſententiam referunt ambæ iſtæ locutiones, ſi legitime interpretari velis. Secundo, ſpiritum S. a patre filioque procedere, idcirco confitetur eccleſia Latina, quod a ſanctis patribus & a conciliis traditum habeat hanc ipſam loquendi formam. Audiamus S. Epiphanium [e]: ſemper enim cum patre filioque ſpiritus S. eſt: non patris veluti frater, non genitus, aut creatus, non filii frater, non patris nepos; ſed a patre procedens & accipiens a filio, a patre filioque non alienus: verum ex eadem ſubſtantia eademque divinitate ex patre & filio. Similia habet S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus in epiſtola Synodica, ſuo

[d] Lib. 7. contra Eun. [e] Adv. hæreſ.

&

& concilii nomine ad Neſtorium data: quod quidem dogma vel in poſterioribus ſcriptis conſtanter adſtruit; nedum ab eo unquam receſſiſſe dici queat. Huic quoque conſentientes demonſtrare in prompta eſſet S. Athanaſium, Baſilium M. Didymum, alioſque paſſim eccleſiæ orientalis patres, niſi vetarent ſcriptionis hujus anguſtiæ. Inter Latinos vero mentem hanc fuiſſe Magni Hilarii, ſanctorumque Ambroſii, Auguſtini, Leonis, & reliquorum, compertum habent Rutheni. Qui porro ab illorum ſocietate abhorreret eccleſia Ruthena, quos nihil aliud profiteri intelligit, quam quod a ſanctis patribus apud utramque eccleſiam probatiſſimis, iiſdemque conciliorum œcumenicorum auctoritate commendatis, traditum acceperunt? quod vero corde credimus, quis moleſte ferat, ſi & ore confiteamur? præſertim cum nec moleſte ferat eccleſia Latina a Græcis quibuſque redeuntibus ad unitatem, atque in eandem cum ipſa doctrinam de iſto capite conſpirantibus, pro more ſuo recitari ſymbolum, non addita particula: filioque. *Tertio: non ab iſto capite ortum habet Græcorum a Latinis ſeceſſio: nullum de proceſſione ſpiritus S. verbum in epiſtola Michaelis Coerularii & Leonis Acridani: nullum in Literis Leonis IX. nec iſtam primitus diſſidii cauſam fuiſſe, memorat Petrus patriarcha Antiochenus in epiſtola ad Dominicum Gradenſem; quin immo ſignificat, nullum aliud doctrinæ caput in Latinis culpari a Michaele Coerulario, præter unicum, quod eſt de azymis. Et quidem Michael Coerularius, patriarcha, hujus ſeceſſionis autor, Latinos non arguit, niſi ob azymam panem, ob non decantatum tempore quadrageſimæ Alleluja, & alia quædam id genus. At quam leves criminationes, quam parvi momenti! tamen ſine examine, citra omnem judiciorum for-*

mam, inauditis partibus, absque concilii auctoritate, solus ipse cum paucis sibi subjectis episcopis non dubitavit Latinorum templa claudere, & Romanum pontificem universumque occidentem, qui eandem cum ipso sequebatur disciplinam, ab ecclesiastica communione exscindere. Atque de his leniter apud eum expostulat ipse Romanus pontifex Leo IX. ponitque ob oculos veræ illius matris pietatem, cujus viscera commota fuisse narrantur in historia Salomonis, quæque dividi filium ferre non potuit: tum hæc addit: nihil obesse saluti credentium, diversas pro loco & tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona, quæ potest, uni Deo commendat omnes.

Fuerunt hæc Græcorum a Latinis, adeoque Russorum secessionis initia, quæ profecto diligenter meminisse opus est, quandoquidem posteriora a prioribus æstimantur.

Atque a primis illis temporibus tristitia magna nobis est & continuus dolor cordi nostro pro fratribus nostris. Cæterum, ne commemoremus eo loci, quam nihil intentatum prætermiserit ecclesia Latina ad tollendum, quod non a se profectum est, dissidium; id unum monuisse satis erit, nihil quidquam optatius nobis esse unitate, nihil schismate detestatum magis. Quantum vero a repudianda Romanæ ecclesiæ communione abhorrere debeamus, impensius admonent, graviterque contestantur SS. Cyprianus & Firmilianus, viri nihilominus, si unquam fuerunt, gravissimas cum Romana sede lites experti. Quis ergo, inquit eorum alter, quis sic discordiæ furore vesanus, ut aut credat scindi posse, aut audeat scindere unitatem Dei, vestem Domini, ecclesiam Christi. Monet ipse in evangelio suo, & docet dicens: & erit unus grex & unus pa-

ſtor. Apoſtolus itidem Paulus hanc eandem nobis inſinuans veritatem obſervat, & hortatur dicens: obſecro, inquit, vos fratres per nomen Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ut id ipſum dicatis omnes, & non ſint in vobis ſchiſmata. Quibus verbis tanto charitatis affectu plenis nihil aliud additum volumus, præter piiſſimam recentioris Græci, nomine Theoriani, adhortationem, qui poſtquam conſecrationem in azymo perinde ac fermentato pane ſanctam eſſe confeſſus eſt, atque ita ſentire ſignificavit, quotquot e Latinis audierat, Græcos deinde ſuæ communionis ſic alloquitur; ac primum quidem vos adhortamur, ut alienum animum a contentionibus habeatis; hoc enim moris noſtri non eſt, neque Dei eccleſiæ: ſed pacem perſequi cum omnibus, Chriſtum poſſidentes, qui facit utraque unum, & Latinos ita ut fratres diligite: recte enim de fide ſentiunt.

Atque huic ſcriptioni, quam propter celerem Czareæ Majeſtatis diſceſſum feſtinante calamo exaravimus, dum finem imponimus, votis erga ſupremum cœli terræque Dominum repetitis auguſtiſſimum principem abeuntem proſequimur, ut, qui ex inſtaurato regni ſplendore tantum ſibi nomen peperit, nova gloriæ acceſſione ſuum, qua patet, imperium, ſanctæ ac catholicæ religionis imperio ſubjiciat & longe lateque amplificet regnum Chriſti Jeſu, per quem & ipſe glorioſiſſime regnat.

Sit ipſe Cyrus alter; (cujus Deus apprehendit dextram in miſericordia ſua, teſte propheta) atque ad lucem veritatis paciſque concordiam fauſtus ſit populorum inſtaurator, qui medium parietem maceriæ ſolvens diuturniores illas ſuam inter & Romanam eccleſiam inimicitias tollat, ut jam unus ſit tandem populus fidelis, ſicut

una

una eccleſia eſt & una religio. Iſta pietate, hoc fidei ſtudio, longe adhuc præſtantius, quam cæteris ſuis heroicis dotibus majorum ſuorum famam ſuperabit, & ſua ipſius virtute non minus quam ſceptri majeſtate verendam obtinet ſupremam poteſtatem, hæc nulla re magis ſtabit firma & incolumis, quam cum laude tutandæ Dei cauſæ, tanquam Dei famulus, & tanquam eccleſiæ filius procurandæ unitati conſecrabit.

Scriptum in domo Sorbonica die 15 Junii anni 1717.

Ludovicus Habert, Presbyter & Doctor Theologus.

Jacobus Chriſtophorus Braquet, Presb. D. Theol. & Socius Sorbonicus.

Joſephus Lambert, Presb. D. Theol.

Antonius le Moque, Presb. D. Theol. & Socius Sorbonicus.

Ludovicus Courcia, Presb. & D. Theol.

Johannes Baptiſta de Ruel, D. Theol. & Socius Sorbonicus.

Guilielmus de la Marc, Presb. & D. Theol.

Franciſcus Petrus de Beſque, Presb. & D. Theol.

Stephanus de Boury, Presb. & D. Theol.

Franciſcus Hyacinthus de Lan, Presb. & D. Theol.

Franciſcus Salomon, Presb. & D. Theol.

Laurentius Franciſcus Bourſier, Presb. & D. Theol.

Antonius de Laſchaſſaigne, Presb. & D. Theol.

Vincentius Carolus Antonius de Belloy de Franciere, Presb. & D. Theol.

Bartholomæus de la Fleutrie, Presb. & D. Theol.

Natalis

Natalis Jacobus le Febvre, Presb. & D. Theol.

Carolus Antonius Touvenot, Presb. & D. Theol.

Edmundus Mareuil, Presb. & D. Theol.

Nos Franciſcus Vivant, Presbyter, Doctor Theologus, facultatis Pariſienſis Socius Sorbonicus, eccleſiæ & univerſitatis ſtudiorum Pariſienſis Cancellarius, ejuſdem eccleſiæ canonicus, nec non Eminentiſſimi & Reverendiſſimi D. D. Archiepiſcopi Pariſienſis Cardinalis de Noailles Vicarius generalis, teſtamur, ſupra ſcriptum inſtrumentum ſeu actum doctrinæ catholicæ circa articulos in eo contentos expoſitivum eſſe ſubſignatum propria manu eorum, quorum nomina in dicti inſtrumenti calce leguntur: eoſque omnes & ſingulos eſſe Presbyteros & in ſacra facultate Theologiæ Pariſienſis Magiſtros ſeu Doctores è Societate Sorbonica, quorum teſtimonio indubie fides haberi poteſt & debet.

Datum Pariſiis in ædibus noſtri palatii archiepiſcopalis, ſub ſigno noſtro & ſecretarii noſtri & ſub ſigillo noſtro, quod eſt eccleſiæ Metropolitanæ Pariſienſis B. Mariæ, die nona menſis Julii anno Domini milleſimo ſeptingenteſimo decimo ſeptimo.

(L. S.) F. Vivant Cancell. Pariſ.

De mandato D. D. Cancellarii
Eccleſiæ & Univerſitatis Pariſienſ.

LIBOUR.

AN

AN

ABSTRACT

OF

M. *Cornelius Le Brun's*

TRAVELS

THROUGH

RUSSIA and *PERSIA*

TO THE

EAST INDIES;

Containing the

OBSERVATIONS

He made in

R U S S I A.

AN

ABSTRACT

OF

M. Cornelius Le Brun's

TRAVELS

THROUGH

RUSSIA and PERSIA

TO THE

EAST INDIES

Containing the

OBSERVATIONS

He made in

R U S S I A

M. Le Brun's OBSERVATIONS ON *RUSSIA.*

ON the 2d of Auguſt 1701, we ſet Sail from the *Texel*; on the 16th we made the Coaſt of *Norway*, and on the 28th that of the Ruſſian *Lapponia*.

On the 30th we entered the *White Sea*, the Water of which is clearer than that of the Ocean, which is of a deep green Colour on the Coaſts of *Ruſſia*.

On the 2d of September we arrived near *Nova Dwinka*, where we caſt Anchor to wait for Leave from the Governor of the Place before we ſailed farther on. There are a few Houſes in that Place, where People were buſy with raiſing ſome Forts for fear of being ſurprized by the *Swedes*: They were alſo fitting out Nova Dwinka.

three Fireſhips, and preparing a Chain ninety Fathoms long, the Links of which were as as thick as one's Arm, to ſhut up the Mouth of the River againſt the *Swedes*, who ſome Weeks before had made an Attempt on that Shore. The Governor at length arrived, and after having made us well come with a Glaſs of Brandy, gave us Leave to proceed.

Archangel. We arrived at *Archangel* on the 3d, where one of my Countrymen told me the Particulars of the late Swediſh Invaſion. They had appeared on that Coaſt with three Men of War, one Fly-boat, two Galiots, and one Snow, with a Deſign to ruin the Village of *Mutjega* ten Leagues from thence. But their Pilote who was a Ruſſian diverted them from executing that Deſign, by repreſenting to them that it would make them miſcarry in their Attempt againſt *Archangel*. So they entered the River with Engliſh Colours, and took another Ruſſian to ſerve them for Interpreter. On the 15th of June in the Evening 1701, they arrived at *Nova Dwinka*, but to their great Surprize were received with ſome Diſcharges of the Artillery, which obliged them to leave behind one of their Gallies and a Bark, and to retire at Midnight to their Ships lying at the Mouth of the River, at which Seaſon of the Year the Sun almoſt never diſappears. Provoked at this Diſappointment, they vented their Rage by ſetting Fire to the Light-Houſe, and two Villages *Kuja* and *Pellietſe*, the former of which lies ſeven Hours way from the Town, and the latter on the oppoſite Shore of the *White Sea*. They cruiſed ſome Days on thoſe Coaſts, and afterwards retired. The Ruſſians rejoicing at this

Delivery

Delivery fell a drinking the Wine, Plenty of which the Swedes had left behind, and inconſiderately making ſome Diſcharges to celebrate their Victory, a Barrel of Powder took Fire and blew up the Ship, by which Accident four Ruſſians were killed and twenty wounded. The Swedes loſt but one Man as was believed, whoſe Corpſe was taken up by the Ruſſians.

Samoieds.

On the 6th we entered the Harbour with the Tide. On the 11th I went with my Friend and Countryman up the River to his Country Houſe two or three Leagues from the Town. On the Road in a Wood where we alighted, I ſaw ſome of that Nation who are called *Samoieds*, which in the Ruſſian Language ſignifies *Man-eaters*, or who eat each other. They are for the greateſt part a ſavage People, inhabiting along the Sea-Coaſt as far as *Siberia*. There were ſeven or eight Men and as many Women, living in five different Tents, they had about ſix or ſeven Dogs belonging to them, which were tied each to a ſeparate Stake, and made a great Noiſe when they perceived us. We found the Men as well as the Women buſy in making Oars, and certain Inſtruments for throwing the Water out of their Boats, ſmall Chairs and the like, which they ſell in the Town and to the Ships: They have Liberty to take the neceſſary Wood for making them, in the Foreſts. They are of a ſhort Stature, patticularly the Women, who beſides have very ſmall Feet. They are of a tawny Colour and diſagreeable Look, the Generality of them having long Eyes, and Chub-Cheeks. They have a Language of their own, but they alſo underſtand

the Ruſſian: Their Dreſs is all alike, made of the Skins of Rain-deer. The upper Coat hangs down from the Neck to the Knees, the Hair turned outward; thoſe of the Women are party-coloured, with red and blue Bands of Cloth as an Ornament. Their Hair is very black and diſhevelled like that of Savages, which from time to time they cut by Locks; the Women pleat part of it, and, for Finery, tie ſmall pieces of Copper at the Ends, with a Slip of red Cloth. The Women alſo wear Fur Caps, white within, and black without. There are ſome among them who go with diſhevelled Hair, which makes it difficult to diſtinguiſh them from the Men, the rather becauſe the latter have little or no Beard at all, which perhaps proceeds from their ſtrange Food. They wear a ſort of Waſtcoats and Breeches of the like Skin, and Buskins that are almoſt entirely white, the Women diſtinguiſhing theirs by a red Edging. The Thread which they uſe is made of the Sinews of Animals. Inſtead of Handkerchiefs they uſe very thin Shavings of Birch Wood, which they always carry about them for Cleanlineſs, and wipe their Mouths or Faces with them when they eat or ſweat. Their Tents are made of Bark of Trees, patched together in Rows, and hanging down to the Ground to keep out the Air and Wind: They are open at the Top to let the Smoak out, which renders them black above and reddiſh or yellow all over within; they are ſupported by Poles, which meet and jut out at the ſaid Opening; the Entry is about four Foot high, covered with a large Piece of Bark, which they lift up in going in and out:

The

The Hearth-place is in the middle of the Tent. They feed upon Carrion of Oxen, Sheep, Horſes and other Beaſts which they find on the Road, or is given them; as alſo on the Bowels and other Entrails, which they boil and eat without Bread or Salt. When I was among them I ſaw a large Kettle full of thoſe Dainties, which they took not the leaſt Care to skim. The whole Tent was hung with raw Horſe-Fleſh, which afforded but an indifferent Spectacle. After having viewed all this, I ſate down to make a Draught of their Tents as they appear without; during the Time I was at Work they ſurrounded me and looked at my Performance with an Air that ſhewed ſome Judgement in them, and that they were pleaſed with it. In one of thoſe Tents I obſerved a Child eight Weeks old, lying in a Cradle or rather Trough made of yellow Wood, much like the Lid of a Trunk, tied to a Pole with two Ropes; over the Child's Head was a Cover made of Hoops, over which was ſpread a grey Cloth open at the Top and on one ſide, to take the Child out and put it in again. It was ſwaddled in Cloth of the ſame Colour, tied with Ropes over the Breaſt, the Belly and the Feet, its Head and part of the Neck being bare. However hideous thoſe People look, yet the Child was not diſagreeable, and even of a pretty fair Complexion. The Time being too ſhort to finiſh my Work, and many of the Men and Women being then in the Woods, I deferred it till my Return, and proceeded to my Friends Country-Houſe.

During my Stay there, Turnips of ſeveral Sorts were brought to us, which were of a ſur- *Fine Turnips.*

prizing Beauty. Some of them were of a violet Colour, like our Plumbs, others were grey, white and yellowish, striped with a red like Vermillion, as pleasing to the Eye as any Carnation can be. I painted some of them in Water Colours, and even sent some in a Box filled with Sand to one of my Friends in *Holland*, who is a Lover of such Curiosities. I carried my Painting to *Archangel*, where they would not believe that they were done after Nature, till I produced the very Turnips; a Sign that they are not curious there about such things.

More of the Samoieds. On the 13th of September I returned to the *Samoieds*, and made a Draught of one of their Huts or Tents within, after having opened it on both Sides, the better to observe every thing. Those Tents are commonly filled with the Skins of Raindeer, which serve them instead of Chairs and Beds. This and their way of dressing their Victuals, which commonly are tainted or half rotten, causes an insupportable Stench. My Friend who sate down by me while I drew the Child in the Cradle, was so affected by it, that he fell a bleeding at the Nose, and was obliged to go out of the Tent, though we had as well provided against that Inconvenience as we could, by taking Brandy and Tobacco. Besides those People themselves cast a most disagreeable Smell, which I ascribe to their Food and Nastiness.

Their Dress. I was soon obliged to leave the Place also, and desired them to come and see me at *Archangel*, with one of their finest Women, in her best Dress, in order to draw her Picture. They promised it, and were exact in keeping

their

their Appointment. I drew the Woman in her own Dreſs, which was made of Raindeer-Skins, ſtriped white, grey and black: She was finely dreſſed from Head to Foot according to their own way like a Bride; her Eyes were continually fixed upon mine, and ſhe appeared ſo extremely pleaſed with my Performance that another Woman ſhe had brought along with her, grew jealous of it, and complained when I refuſed to draw her Picture alſo. But the firſt had given me Trouble enough, and my Deſign was to draw alſo her Husband's. His Winter-Dreſs ſeeming to me moſt proper for my Deſign: I bid him put it on. His upper Coat was all of one Piece of Fur, of which even the Cap he had on his Head and his Gloves made part. He covered himſelf with it as with a Shirt, ſo that nothing was ſeen of him but the Face, without which he would have looked more like a Bear than a Man. His Boots were tied under his Knees. The whole Dreſs was ſo warm, and my Room likewiſe ſo well heated, that he was often obliged to take off his Clothes, and go out to take Air. He had that Day received a Preſent of a dying Horſe, which he carried home into the Woods, cut his Throat, and fleaed him. I deſired him to ſend me the Head of it to draw it with his Picture, which he did, though not without ſome Difficulty, thoſe Heads being in as much Eſteem among them, as Calves Heads may be amongſt us, and he valued the Preſent of that Horſe as much, as any of us would have done if it had been a fat Ox. I alſo drew one of his Raindeer, in his Picture, with his Bow and Arrows at his Feet, the latter of which look

look with the Heads out of the Quiver. The Food of thoſe Raindeer is white Moſs, of which I ſhall ſay ſomething hereafter.

Of their Sleds and Raindeer.

As I lived in a Ground-Room, I ſent for a *Samoied* with his Sled and Raindeer, to take an exact View of the whole Carriage. The Sleds are commonly eight foot long, and three or four broad, and riſe before like Scates. The Driver ſits down in it with his Legs croſſed, or ſometimes lets one of them hang out. He has before him a ſmall Board made round on the upper Part, and another like it behind, but ſomewhat higher; he holds in his Hand a Staff with a Knot on the Top, with which he puſhes and drives on the Raindeer. The Sled ſtands upon two Laths made round, to which the Traces are tied, which paſs between the Raindeers Legs, to the Heads of which they are faſtened by a Collar. With his right Hand the Driver holds the Reins, which are faſtened to a Strop of Leather tied about the Beaſt's Head like a Halter. I had the Curioſity to go with a Friend in two Sleds, each drawn by two Raindeer, on the Ice of the River, which we croſſed ſeveral times. I obſerved that Horſes always run away at the Sight of the Raindeer and the *Samoieds*, which alſo happens in Town, and is a Sign that the Horſes have a natural Averſion to thoſe Beaſts. The Raindeer run with a Swiftneſs beyond that of any Horſe; they do not keep in the Road, but run wherever they are directed, holding their Heads up ſo high, that they touch their Backs with their Horns. They never ſweat, but when they are tired they put out their Tongues on one ſide and pant like Dogs. The *Samoieds* hunt the Raindeer

deer in Winter, with three different ſorts of Arrows; they make uſe on that Occaſion of Scates of Wood, about eight Foot long and half a Foot broad, which is tied to the Foot with a Strop that comes over the Toes, and is faſtened with another that goes about the Heel. Thus furniſhed they run over the Snow, and even over Hills with an incredible Swiftneſs. The ſaid Scates are lined underneath with the Skin of the Feet of Raindeer, the Hair turned outwards, which hinders them from ſliding backwards, and enables them to ſtop in going up Hill. In one of their Hands they hold a Staff ſomewhat like a Shepherd's Crook, with a Shovel on one End, to throw Snow at the Raindeer to make them go to the Places where they have ſpread their Nets to catch them: On the other End of that Staff is a ſmall Hoop of about four Inches in Diameter with a thin Cord tied croſs-ways over it, which they make uſe of to ſtop from time to time, the Hoop hindering the Point of the Staff which comes out of it, from penetrating too deep into the Snow. When they have catched the Game in the Nets, they kill thoſe that cannot diſentangle themſelves: They either ſell the Skin, or cloath themſelves with it, and the Fleſh they eat. Thoſe which they bring up and make tame, are alſo of great Profit to them, for ſome they ſell, and others they make uſe of to draw their Sleds. If a wild Buck couples with a tame Doe, they kill the Fawn of it, becauſe it will run into the Deſarts when four or five Days old. But thoſe that are tame keep in the Woods about the Huts, and they have a way of calling them, and making them fall into the Nets

they

they have laid for them. Thoſe Beaſts know how to find their own Food, which is a certain white Moſs that grows in the Moraſſes. They will come at it under the Snow was it even a Fathom deep and better, for they will ſcratch through and remove it with their Feet, till they find it. And this is almoſt their only Nouriſhment, though when in want of it they can alſo eat Graſs or Hay. They look much like Stags, though they are much ſtronger and have ſhorter Legs. They are almoſt all of a whitiſh Colour, though there are likewiſe ſome that are grey. At the Ends of their Feet they have a ſort of a black Hoof. They caſt off their Horns and change them every Spring; thoſe Horns are covered with a ſhaggy Skin, which comes off at the approach of Winter. They commonly live but eight or nine Years. The *Samoieds* alſo hunt Squirrels, which they ſhoot with Arrows the Point of which is blunt in the form of a Pear, to preſerve the Skin which would be leſs valuable if pierced.

Of Sea-Dogs. They have alſo their Water-Game, which is the hunting of Sea-Dogs, which in the Months of March and April are found in the *White-Sea*, whither they come, as is believed, from *Nova Zemla* to engender. They couple upon the Ice, where the *Samoieds* watch them, being dreſſed in a manner that makes them look more like Beaſts than Men. They advance on the Ice, which ſometimes extends half a League from the Shore, armed with a Stick having a Hook, tied to a Rope about twelve Fathoms long; aſſoon as they obſerve any of thoſe Beaſts, they lie perdue on their Bellies and creep as near up to them

them as they can, at the time that they couple, and if they ſee the Beaſts obſerve their Motion, they lie ſtill again: This they continue till they come within reach to throw their Hooks at them, which as ſoon as the Beaſts feel, they leap into the Sea. Then the *Samoied* pulls the Rope which is tied about his Waſte, till the Beaſt is ſpent, and ſo he ſeizes it. Sometimes, the Salt-water paining the wounded Beaſt, it throws it ſelf upon the Ice again, where they kill it. The Fleſh they eat, of the Skin they make Clothes, and the Train-oil of it they ſell. It happens however ſometimes, that the Sea-Dog leaps into the Sea with ſuch vehemence that he pulls the poor Sportſman after him, who if he cannot ſpeedily diſentangle himſelf of the Rope he has about his Waſte, miſerably periſhes in the Water. They make uſe of a Stratagem much like this, in hunting Rain-deer: They cover themſelves with Rain-deer Skins, and creep among thoſe that are tame; when they are within reach of the wild ones, they kill them with their Darts: But they muſt take care to have the Wind of thoſe Animals, which have ſo nice a ſmell, that otherwiſe they would eſcape them.

Of the Children of the Samoieds.

This I learned from the *Samoied* Woman, who was with her Husband when I drew his Picture. She was the prettieſt and moſt agreeable of all thoſe I have ſeen among them. To be the better informed by her, I took care to ingratiate my ſelf by giving her large Doſes of Brandy, with which the Women get drunk as well as the Men even ſo as to fall to the Ground. This happened alſo to the Woman I am ſpeaking of, and her Huſband

band, ſeeing her in that Condition, almoſt ſplit his Sides with laughing. When ſhe was got up again, ſhe fell a crying in a moſt lamentable manner, which the Miſtreſs of the Houſe told me, proceeded from her remembring that ſhe had loſt four Children and had no other alive: A Reflexion incident to ſome People when in Drink. One Day when I diſcourſed with her about Children, ſhe told me the ſtrange Cuſtoms they obſerve with relation to them. They ſuckle their Children a Year, and if one dies within that time and has conſequently never eaten Fleſh, they wrap the Corpſe up in a Cloth, and hang it on a Tree in the Woods. As ſoon as a Child is born, they give it the Name of the firſt Creature that comes into their Tent, or which they meet with upon their going out. They even often give it the Name of the firſt thing that occurs to their View, as a River, a Tree or the like. The Children that die above a Year old, they bury in the Ground between two Planks.

Of their Marriages and Buryings.

If a Man has a mind to marry, he firſt looks out for a Woman he likes, then bargains and agrees with her Relations for a certain Price, as we buy Horſes or Oxen. They give for a Woman two, three or four Raindeer, which are uſually valued at fifteen or twenty Gilders a piece Dutch Money; ſometimes they pay as much ready Money for them as that comes to. They take as many Wives as they pleaſe, though ſome among them content themſelves with one. If one does not like his Wife any longer, he returns her back to her Relations of whom he bought her, who are obliged to take her again, keeping

ing

ing what the Husband gave for her. I have been told, that there are other *Samoieds* inhabiting along the Sea-coaſt and in *Siberia*, who marry after the ſame manner, and ſell their Wives when they are tired of them. When their Fathers and Mothers die, they keep their Bones without burying them, and I have heard from Perſons that have been Eye-witneſſes to it, that they drown them when they are come to ſuch advanced Age as to be good for nothing. When a Man dies among them, they put him into a Grave, in the Cloathes he wore when alive, and cover him with Earth: After which they hang his Bow, Quiver, Hatchet, Pot, and other Utenſils which he made uſe of in his Life-time, on a Tree. They bury their Women in the ſame manner.

After I had informed my ſelf of their Cuſtoms and Manners, I was curious to hear alſo what what was their Belief and Religion. Accordingly I went with my Friends to a *Samoied*, whom I treated with Brandy to put him into a good Humour, for otherwiſe they are very reſerved and do not care to ſpeak. On that occaſion calling to mind what the holy Scripture ſays, that the Heathens though having no Knowledge of the Law, yet live according to it directed only by the Light of Nature, I concluded that thoſe People muſt likewiſe have ſome Knowledge of Religion. I propoſed ſome Queſtions to the *Samoied*, who anſwered them in the following manner: That he and his Countrymen believed there was a Heaven and a God, whom they call *Heyha*, that is to ſay, Deity: That they are perſuaded nothing is greater

Of their Religion.

greater and more powerful than God: That all depends on him: That *Adam*, the common Father of Mankind, was created by God, or deſcended from him, but that his Poſterity go neither to Heaven nor Hell: That all thoſe who do good, will be tranſlated to a Place that is above Hell, where they are to enjoy the Happineſs of Paradiſe, and ſuffer no Pain. Notwithſtanding which they ſerve their Idols and worſhip the Sun, the Moon and the other Planets, and even certain Beaſts and Birds, according to their Fancy, in hopes to obtain ſome advantage from them. They place a certain Piece of Iron before the Idol, on which they hang ſeveral ſmall Stricks, of the thickneſs of the Back of a Knife, and the length of a Finger, pointed at one End, by which they pretend to repreſent a Man's Head, making little Holes in the Lump to mark the Eyes, the Noſe and the Mouth: Thoſe ſmall Sticks are wrapt about with Rain-deer Skin, and they tie to it Bear or Wolves Teeth, or the like. They have a Perſon among them, whom they call *Siaman* or *Kudiſnick*, which ſignifies a Prieſt or rather Soothſayer, and they believe he can foretell them all the good or evil that ſhall befall them; whether they ſhall have good Luck in hunting; whether ſick Perſons ſhall recover or die of their Diſtemper, and other like things. When they want

Theſe Samoids *live among the Ruſſians, and have thereby attained ſome Knowledge of God, though very imperfect, but the others who live farther off, and have no Intercourſe with other Nations, remain in a profound Darkneſs. Of the latter ſort mention is made in the firſt Volume, pag.* 19.

to

to know any thing of him, they ſend for him, tie a Rope about his Neck, and draw it tight till he falls down as dead. Some time after he begins to ſtir again and at length fully recovers his Senſes. When he is going to foretell ſomething, the Blood comes out of his Cheeks, and ſtops again when he has done; and if he begins anew, it bleeds afreſh, as I have been told by Perſons, who have often been Eye-witneſſes to it. Theſe Sorcerers wear ſeveral Iron Plates on their Clothes, and Rings of the ſame, which make a frightful Noiſe when they approach. Thoſe who live about *Archangel* have none of that ſort, they only wear over their Face a Wire, to which are tied all ſorts of Teeth of Beaſts. If one of thoſe *Kudiſnicks* dies, they erect for him a Monument made of Timber, which they ſhut up on all Sides, to keep out the wild Beaſts; then they lay the Corpſe on the Top of it, with his Bow, Quiver and Hatchet on his Side. They alſo tie to that Monument the Deceaſed's Raindeer, if he had any, which muſt ſtarve there, unleſs they work themſelves looſe.

An account of ſeveral Northern Nations.

All this I had from Perſons that lived in thoſe Parts, and was confirmed to me by *Michael Oſtatioff*, a Ruſſian Merchant, whom I invited to my Lodgings. He had travelled through *Siberia* in his Way to *China*, both Winter and Summer, in which Journeys he had ſpent fourteen Years. He was ſixty Years of Age, ſound in Body and Mind. He told me, that thoſe *Samoieds* extend on all Sides, along the principal Rivers of *Siberia*, *viz.* the *Oby*, *Jeniſea*, *Lena* and *Amur*, which all diſembogue themſelves into the great O-

cean. The latter makes the Frontiers between the *Ruſſian* and *Chineſe* Dominions, and is ſeldom paſſed by that latter Nation. Between the *Lena* and *Amur* they meet with the *Jakutes*, who are *Tartars*, and the *Lamutkie*, who feed upon Raindeer like the *Samoieds*. They are thirty thouſand in number or thereabouts, a bold and warlike Nation. There lives another towards the Sea-coaſt, who are called *Jacogerie* or *Jugra*. They are in every reſpect like the *Samoieds*; they dreſs like them, and live in the Deſarts. They eat the Entrails and Bowels of all ſorts of Beaſts, like Dogs, without dreſſing them. All thoſe People have different Languages. There is a fourth ſort of them, called *Karakie* after the Name of the Country they inhabit, who live alſo like the *Samoieds*. To thoſe may be added another ſort, called *Sugtſie*, who ſlit their Cheeks, and put the Bones of the Fiſh *Narval* into the Wound, to keep the Scar open for an Ornament. The Men waſh themſelves with the Water of their Wives, and the Women with that of the Men. They are a miſchievous Rabble, and very expert in Magick, as is reported. They even boaſt of it, and always carry their Fathers Bones about them to uſe them for that End. What is moſt ſurprizing, is, that they worſhip the Devil, and proſtitute their own Wives and Daughters to Travellers, thinking it a piece of Civility that is owing to Strangers. Barbarous Cuſtoms indeed, in Compariſon to ours! The Ruſſian of whom I learned all theſe Particulars, further told me, that five or ſix Weeks Journey beyond the Country where thoſe People live, towards the Sea-coaſt, there are

others

others of a ſixth ſort, called *Lafarie Sugeſte*, that is to ſay, the *lying Sugeſts*, becauſe they live lying or ſitting in their Tents all Winter long; thoſe Tents are made of the Skins of the Fiſh *Narval*, and are covered with Snow five Months of the Year. They make Proviſion of that Fiſh for that time, and do not come abroad till Spring.

A new Iſland diſcovered.

I further learned during my Stay at *Archangel*, that but ſeven Years ago a new Iſland had been diſcovered on the Eaſt Side of *China*, and ſubdued under the Czar's Obedience, though it was a Year's Journey thither from *Moskow*; that it abounded in Sables, nor was it yet known, whether it did not produce other valuable things; and that the People inhabiting it reſemble thoſe of whom mention has been juſt now made.

The Dock at Archangel.

The Czar has a fine Dock near the Village *Strambol*, half a League Weſt of *Archangel*, ſideward of the High-road of a very pleaſant Situation. All the Ships ſailing to and from the Town, paſs by there.

Deſcription of Archangel.

The Town of *Archangel* it ſelf is ſituate North-weſt of *Moskow*, and North-eaſt of the River *Dwina*, which ſix Leagues from thence diſcharges itſelf into the *White Sea*. It extends along the River about three quarters of a League in length, and a quarter in breadth. Its chief Building is the Palace, which is of Free-ſtone, divided into three Parts. In the firſt Part, which is on the Left coming from the River, the foreign Merchants keep their Goods, and even have ſome Apartments in it. There lodge alſo Merchants in it, who come every Year from *Moskow*, and ſtay till the departure of the

Ships that return to their Countrey. The Strangers who repair thither every Year, live likewise in it, but soon after the departure of the said Ships which commonly happens in October, they remove to other Lodgings, till they return to *Moskow* in November and December, when the Roads are passable with Sleds and the Rivers frozen over. Going into the Palace, one passes through a great Gate, and enters into a large square Yard, in which are the Store-houses at the Right and Left. Above is a long Gallery, which brings one to the Apartments, in which the Merchants live, as aforesaid: Two Stair cases lead up to that Gallery. The second Part of the Palace has a Gate like the first, which leads to another Building, at the End of which stands the Town-house, which has several Apartments. Going up some Steps, one comes to a long Gallery, from whence one goes in at the Left into the Place where the Court of Justice is held. The Sentences are executed in the Palace, except they be Sentences of Death, which are executed in several Places as mentioned in the Sentence. In this Palace the Goods are kept that belong to his Czarish Majesty, in several Store-houses built for them, some of Wood, others of Stone, which also the Merchants sometimes make use of. After having passed the third Gate there appears a third Building, designed for the Goods belonging to the *Russians*, where their Merchants also live, but not so commodiously as the Strangers. The Place before the Palace is pretty spacious, and reaches to the River. In Summer when the Ships arrive, they build two large Bridges of Timber

ber for the Conveniency of lading and unlading.

The Citadel, in which the Governor lives, contains a great number of Shops, where the *Ruſſians*, who repair thither in the time of the Fair, expoſe their Goods to Sale. It is ſurrounded with a wooden Wall, which extends as far as the River. *The Citadel.*

All the Houſes in this Town are of Wood, or to ſay better, are Piles of heavy Pieces of Timber joined together in a manner that looks very odd from without. However thoſe of the better ſort particularly of foreign Merchants, have fine Apartments. The Walls are even and ſmooth within, and wainſcoted. There is commonly in every Room a Stove, which is heated from without: They are moſtly very large and ſo contrived as to be an Ornament to the Room. The Merchants from beyond Sea, (ſo they call there all Foreigners who are Chriſtians) obſerve as much Neatneſs in their Houſes, as the moſt conſiderable among us (in *Holland*) and their Apartments are full of Pictures and fine Houſhold-Goods. *Their Houſes.*

The Streets are laid with Pieces of Timber, ſo that thoſe who walk in them are in continual Danger of falling or being hurt. Beſides they lie full of Rubbiſh, which looks like the Ruins of Houſes after a Fire. But in Winter the Snow makes them all even. *The Streets.*

The *Reformed* as well as the *Lutherans* have each a Church in the Town, in which there is a Sermon twice every Sunday. Theſe two Churches ſtand near each other by the River. In Winter they do not perform Di- *The Reformed and Lutheran Churches.*

vine Service in them, by reason of the severe Cold, but the Congregations assemble at their Minister's House in a Room that is well warmed.

The Government of the Town.

The Governor formerly exercised an absolute Power in this Town, but last Year this sort of Government was changed, and four Burgher-masters appointed, one of whom lives in the Town, another at *Colmogrod*, and the two remaining in some neighbouring Places. They have the Administration of all civil Affairs and of the Police, and the Governor's Authority at present extends no further, than to military Affairs. Every Year against the time the Merchants arrive at *Archangel*, a chief Toll-gatherer repairs thither, to see the Czar's Duties paid, and to buy what the Court has occasion for. He has four Assistants, who officiate in his Absence, and are called *Gostiem sotni*, that is, *Subdelegates*, from among whom he himself is chosen. Besides these, some are taken from among the common People, the number of whom is not fixed, who are employed in the Towns and Villages. Those People are obliged to serve one Year without any Salary, and to obey the Orders of the chief Toll-gatherer and his Assistants, in all that relates to the Czar's Customs and Revenue. They are sent over all that Country with Soldiers to assist them in case of need, to prevent Frauds, and seize Offenders. When they have served their Year, others are put in their room.

Provisions very good and cheap.

This Town abounds in all Necessaries of Life. There is plenty of Poultry and wild Fowl, and very cheap; Partridges are sold at

two

two Pence a Piece: They are of two sorts; one that perch on the Trees, of the same Colour with ours, and as good as can be eaten; the others are white in Winter, which are called by the Natives *Karoptie*. There are likewise two sorts of *Tetters*, a Bird like our Turkeys, with fine Feathers: The Cocks commonly are of a black Colour, mixed with a very deep blue; the Hens are smaller with grey Spots. There is no less plenty of Hares, at four Pence a Piece; they are white in Winter and the Rabbets black. Woodcocks are sold there for two Pence or three Pence a Piece. Ducks are also very common; there is a sort of them, which they call *Gagares*, which fly extremely swift and high: They make a Noise in flying which resembles an human Voice: They swim with the like swiftness as they fly, but they cannot run, because their Feet come out of the back part of their Body. The Rivers are stocked with Fish: Perches are in such quantity, that one may treat twenty People for twenty Pence: The best of that sort are what they call *Karuske*, which are the smallest, but are of an exquisite Taste: They are almost in the shape of a Roach, brown, and have shining Scales. Pikes are very common, as also small delicious Eels. There is a brown Fish they call *Garius* *, of an admirable Taste. It would be superfluous to mention Salmon, since every body knows that it is exported, both salted and smoaked in great Quantities. There is a sort of it which is white and by the Russians called *Meelma*, which are caught on the Coasts of

* Hartius, *see Vol.* 1. *p.* 343.

Lapponia, and dried before they are exported. Butchers Meat is also in great abundance there. The best Beef is sold at a Penny a Pound; a Lamb, about ten Weeks old, at fifteen Pence; a Calf at forty, according to the Season. Every body there breeds Turkeys. Four or five Pullets, or a Goose, cost but seven or eight Pence. The Beer is very good there, but it is not permitted to sell or even brew any, without the Czar's Licence. Wine and Brandy are brought from *France*, but the latter is very dear by reason of the high Duty. However they make another sort of Brandy distilled of Corn, which is tolerably good, and cheap. Foreigners hardly drink any other.

The Czar's Duties. The Duties established in this Town yield every Year a considerable Revenue to the Czar. Formerly it was said, that it amounted to three hundred thousand Rubels, but I have found upon an exact Enquiry, that at that time it did not yield above one hundred eighty or one hundred ninety thousand *Rubels*, each *Rubel* making about five Gilders Dutch Money. There arrived usually every Year thirty or thirty five Dutch Ships; but this Year there came fifty, and thirty three English, to which if we add those from *Hambourg*, *Denmark*, and *Bremen*, the whole amounted to one hundred and three *.

* *Since the Czar has divided the Russian Trade between* Archangel *and* Petersbourg, *and forced the Merchants to carry most of their Commodities to the latter Place, the Number of Ships trading to* Archangel *is much lessened. And in all likelihood the Trade to* Archangel *will be intirely left off in time of Peace, pursuant to the Czar's Intentions, who will have it removed to* Petersbourg.

The

The Reason of this is because the Merchants used in time of Peace to export great Quantities of Merchandize to *Riga*, *Narva*, *Reval*, and even to *Koningsberg* and *Dantzick*, the best Branch of which Trade has been interrupted by the War between *Russia* and *Sweden*; so that the whole Trade is now confined to *Archangel*. It is also reckoned that the Czar has received this Year in Duties on Goods imported, since the arrival of the first Ships, and the departure of the last, the Sum of one hundred thirty thousand *Rubels* or two hundred sixty thousand *Rixdollars*. It was agreed on that one half of those Duties should be paid in *Rixdollars*, and the other half in Ducats, and if one should offer to pay all in Ducats, they would refuse to take them, but *Rixdollars* they will take. From the Year 1697 till 1699 the Duty on each Hogshead of Wine, was twenty Rixdollars, whereas for these three Years past they pay but five. Yet they still pay thirty six for the Hogshead of Brandy, and forty for the Pipe of Spanish Wine, which makes two Hogsheads.

The principal Commodities imported at *Archangel* were Gold and Silk Stuffs, Cloth, Serges, Gold and Silver Lace, *&c.* Gold-wire, Indigo and other Drugs for dying. From *Russia* are exported to other Countries, *Potas*, or Russian Ashes, *Weedas*, or Ashes of which Soap is made, Hides, Hemp, Tallow, Elk-hides, and several Furs, all of the Product of the Countrey *. It is also

The Import and Export of Archangel.

* M. Le Brun *does not mention here all the Produce of* Russia. *For there is a great Trade carried on with* Tar, Isinglass *or* Fish-glue, Caviar *and other Commodities, of all which however the* Czar *has the Monopoly.*

also said, that in the Rivers *Kola*, *Warsgba*, *Wusma* and *Solia* there grow Shells in which a good number of Pearls are found. Some of them are worth twenty five Gilders a piece, and those in the Neighbourhood of *Onbay*, double the Value *.

Colmogrod. On the 21st of December 1701 at three in the Afternoon I left *Archangel*, in Company of a Gentleman, who was attended by two Soldiers, and provided with a *Podwode*, which is an Order for being furnished with Horses without paying for them, though the Drivers always get some Money by it. We travelled Night and Day on Sleds drawn by two Horses, which are exchanged every fifteenth *Werst*, five of which make a German Mile. At the End of every Werst the Russians cry out *Werst a*. On the 22th at three in the Afternoon we arrived at *Colmogrod*, which is about fifty Werst's from *Archangel*. My Companion being acquainted with the *Vladiko* or Archbishop of that Place, we went to see him, and were by him received with great Civility. He presented us with Cinnamon Water, red Wine, and excellent Beer. He also treated us with Dates of *Egypt* and other Refreshments. He was a Man of fifty Years of Age, and his Name was *Affonassi*. He lived in his own Palace, which is pretty large and joyns to the Monastery. After having passed two Hours very agreeably with that Prelate, who was a Man of good Sense, and a Lover of Learning,

* *Those fine Pearls, which the Author mentions, are wore by the* Russian *Women on their Head-dress in great Quantities, though few of them are perfectly round, and are besides of a bluish Colour like Mother of pearl.*

he carried us to a Hall on the Ground Floor, filled with Arms; there were among others two ſmall Braſs Cannon of his own caſting, and two Iron Guns taken out of the Swediſh Veſſels above-mentioned. When we took Leave of him, he ſent five Clergymen with us, to conduct us to our Inn, one of whom carried five Loaves, and the other dried Fiſh and other Proviſions.

On the 29th we arrived at *Wologda*. The great Church called *Saboor*, is a fine Structure built by the Italian Architect who directed the building of the Caſtle of *Moskow*. This Church has five Cupolas which the Ruſſians call *Glaſa*, that is to ſay, *Church-Heads*; they are covered with Tin, and have large Croſſes on the Tops. There are twenty one Stone Churches in this Town, moſt of which have alſo Cupolas covered with Tin, and gilt Croſſes on the Tops. Beſides thoſe there are forty three others built of Wood; three Monaſteries for Friars, and one for Nuns. I went afterwards to ſee the *Bazars* or Markets, where I obſerved that the ſeveral Commodities and Goods are ſold each in a ſeparate Place. Next I went into a great Building, that is unfiniſhed; it was begun by the Czar *Ivan Waſſilewitz*, and deſigned for a Citadel, but the Apprehenſions from the *Tartars* hindered that Czar from bringing it to Perfection. The River *Wologda* divides the Town into two Parts: That which lies on the other ſide is called *Doſreſene*, and has its own Governor; it is a large League in Length, and a quarter of a League in Breadth, but is not ſo fine as the other Part. All the Merchandize that comes from *Archangel* to be tranſported Wologda.

to

to foreign Countries, passes through this Place. The Dutch have at present three or four Store-Houses there for their Goods.

Daniloff-koy. *Daniloffskoy* is a fine and large Borough, where there is a great Trade, and a fine Stud of Horses, among which there were above two thousand belonging to the Czar.

Jereslaw. On the 1st of January 1702. we arrived at *Jereslaw*, which is one of the principal Cities of *Russia*, in which there is a great Number of Stone-Churches.

Rostof *and* Pereslaw. The next Day we passed through *Rostof*, which is the See of an Archbishop, and full of Stone-Churches, which are a great Ornament to the Town. It is situate near a Lake of the same Name, and there are a great Number of small Villages in the Neighbourhood. The Inhabitants chiefly live upon Garlick and Onions. The same Day we reached *Pereslaw Soleskoy*, the Capital of a Province of the same Name, which is but a poor Place, situate on a Lake.

Trooyts. On the 3d we arrived at *Trooyts*, a Village with a famous Monastery, which latter is surrounded with a high and fine Wall of the same Stone the Monastery is built of. The Corners of the Wall which is square, are fortified with great round Towers, between which there are others which are square. Two of the latter which are the finest, are fronting the high Road. The Monastery lies a long Quarter of a Mile from the Village on the right, going to *Moskow*. One passes three Gates in going in, which are guarded by Soldiers, who have a small Corps-de-guard under the middlemost Gate. The Czar's Apartments, which make a magnificent and

and royal Appearance from without, are on the right Hand, to which one goes up by two different Stair-Caſes, the Front of them being very large. There is ſeveral Stories of them, but the Inſide falls ſhort of the outward Magnificence. The Refectory of the Monks, another large Building, ſtands over-againſt it, and is like the other. All the Windows are adorned with ſmall Columns, and the Stones are painted with divers Colours. The Church ſtands by it ſelf between thoſe two Buildings. There are beſides four others that are conſiderable, and five more that are ſmaller. This Monaſtery looks from without like a Fortreſs, and is governed by an *Archimandrita* or Abbot. There are uſually between two and three hundred Monks in it, ſome of whom accompanied and conducted me every where with a great deal of Civility. It has great Revenues, which are collected on ſixty thouſand Peaſants who belong to it. There are other Incomes, *viz.* on the Burials of the chief Nobility, who have their Tombs there, the Maſſes that are ſaid for the Dead, and the like.

On the 4th we arrived at *Moskow*, where I ſaw on the fifth the Ceremony of the Conſecration of the Waters. * Moſkow.

On the 19th a dreadful Sentence was executed on a Woman who had murthered her Husband. She was buried alive †, and I had the Curioſity to go and ſee her in that Condition. She appeared to me of a well favoured Countenance, and of a freſh Colour. About *A Woman buried alive.*

* *This Ceremony is deſcribed in* Vol. I, p. 85.

† *This ſort of Puniſhment is ſtill in uſe in* Ruſſia.

her

her Head and Neck they had tied a white Linen, which she desired to be slackened, because it was too tight. She was guarded by two or three Soldiers, who had Orders not to suffer any Victuals or Drink to be given her, which might prolong her Life. But People were permitted to fling some *Copecks* into the Hole wherein she was interred, for which she thanked them with a Nod of her Head. That Money is usually applied, part for buying small Waxcandles which are lighted in Honour of the Saint they call upon, and part for buying a Coffin. For ought I know the Guards even take some of it, and privately give the Criminal some Nourishment; for there are some of them who live a long time in that Condition. But the Woman I am speaking of, died the next Day after I had seen her.

Of the Czar's Nieces.

Prince *Alexander Menzikoff* having acquainted me, that the Czar desired I should draw the Pictures of the three young Princesses his Nieces, I went with the said Prince to *Ismailoff*, a Country-House where the Czarina Dowager their Mother resides. Her Name is *Paraskowya Feodorofna*; she is the Relict of the late Czar *Ivan Alexewitz*, who reigned joyntly with his Brother the present Czar, till his Death, which happened on the 29th of Jan. 1696. She is but thirty Years of Age, pretty plump, which becomes her the better, because she is well shaped. One may even say that she has Beauty; she is of a sweet Temper, and of a very engaging Behaviour. She is in great Favour with the Czar. The young Czarewitz *Alexey Petrowitz* often goes to visit her and the three young Princesses her Daughters.

The

The eldeſt *Catharine Iwanoffna* * is but twelve Years of Age; The ſecond *Anna Iwanoffna* † is about ten, and the third *Paraskeowya Iwanoffna* ‡ eight. They are all three very agreeable. The ſecond is fair and of a perfect beautiful Complexion; the other two are brown and very agreeable. The youngeſt has a great deal of Sprightlineſs, and all three are of a charming ſweet and affable Temper. I was treated with all imaginable Gwility at Court during the time that I was about thoſe Pictures, and when I had finiſhed them, I carried them on the 19th of April to the Czarina-Dowager, who preſented me with a Purſe of Gold, which I received from her own Hands.

The ſame Day, being the 19th of April, the Czar ſet out for *Archangel*, attended by the Prince *Alexander Menzicoff*, the Patriarch and Keeper of the Great Seal *Mokite Moyſeewitz Soloff* **, the prime Miniſter of State Count *Feodor Alexewitz Golowin* ††, M. *Gabriel Goloſkin* ‡‡, the Boyar, Knees *Gregory Gregorewitz Romadonofsky*, the Knees *Jurge Jurgewitz Trubetskoy*, and the *Stolnick* or Cup-Bearer. *The Czar goes to* Archangel.

---

* *The eldeſt is at preſent thirty one Years old, and married to the Duke of* Mecklenbourg.

† *The ſecond is twenty nine, and now Dutcheſs Dowager of Courland.*

‡ *The third is twenty five, and lives at* Peterſbourg *ſtill unmarried.*

** *This* Soloff *was but a Mock-*Patriarch; *ſee* Vol I. pag. 34 *and* 89.

†† *Count* Golowin *is dead; his Son is married to the Daughter of the Vice Chancellor Baron* Schafiroff.

‡‡ *This Count* Goloſkin *is now Prime Miniſter.*

There

Ruſſian Cuſtoms.

There is ſomething extraordinary in the Cuſtoms of the *Ruſſians*. When they viſit each other, upon entering the Room they do not ſay a Word, but look about for the Picture of ſome Saint or other, with which their Rooms are always furniſhed; they make three low Bows to it, and afterwards make three times the Sign of the Croſs, pronouncing thoſe Words, *Goſpodi Pomilui, Lord have Mercy upon me*, or *Mier efdom Zjeieweeſonon*, which ſignifies, *Peace be in this Houſe, and among the Living who dwell in it*, and then fall again to croſs themſelves. This done, they turn towards the People of the Houſe and ſpeak to them. They do the ſame when they go to viſit Strangers, and perform that Ceremony to the firſt Picture they meet with, for fear they ſhould be wanting to pay the firſt Honour to God. Their chief Diverſion is Hawking and courſing the Hare with Greyhounds. They have good Regulations in this Reſpect, and the Number of Hounds is limited according to every one's Rank. Beſides theſe they have but few private Diverſions. The muſical Inſtruments moſt in uſe among them, are the Harp, Kettle-drum, Hunting-horn, and Bagpipe. They are mightily delighted to be among mad, monſtrous and drunk People, particularly if the latter have quite loſt their Senſes. If they treat their Friends, they ſit down to Table at ten in the Morning, and riſe from it at one in the Afternoon, to go home to take a Nap, which they do Winter and Summer. They have an odd way of Writing; they take the Paper in the left Hand, lay it upon their Knees, and ſo write: However there are ſome

among them, who write as we do, particularly in their Chanceries or Offices. Their way of ſewing is likewiſe different from ours; they put the Thimble on the firſt Finger, with which and the Thumb they pull the Needle and the Thread towards them; the Cloth they take between the two foremoſt Toes (for their Feet are generally bare) and keep it there ſo faſt, as if it was pinned to the Knee as we do.

Of three Hermits.

The Beginning of July I went with a Friend to the Suburbs of *Preobrazensky*, to ſee three Hermits, that had been kept Priſoners there three or four Days. They had lived in the Neighbourhood of *Azoff* on a ſmall River running into the *Don*. The eldeſt was about ſeventy Years of Age, and the other two appeared to me to be above fifty. The firſt had lived forty Years in the aboveſaid Place in a hollow Rock, where he once was taken by the *Tartars* and ſold to the *Turks*, but he eſcaped and returned to his Hermitage, where he had continued ever ſince. They were accuſed, as it was ſaid, of having forſaken the Ruſſian Faith, but they denied it, and only wiſhed to be examined, declaring that they were ready to undergo the greateſt Torments for the Glory of *Jeſus Chriſt*, though they could neither read nor write. Their Clothes were Gowns of a coarſe Stuff, their Hair hung down to their Waſte like that of wild People, uncombed, that one could not ſee their Faces without putting it aſide. On their Breaſts they wore large Iron Croſſes; each weighed about four Pound, and was faſtened to two Iron Bands that went over the Shoulders down

to the Back, where they were faſtened to an Iron Girdle. The two youngeſt ſhewed ſo much Veneration for the old one, that they ſupported him under the Arms as often as he roſe, which he did upon our approaching him. They were not in Irons, but the Place of their Priſon was open above, in which they ſate on Mats each in a Corner at ſome diſtance from each other. They were to remain there till his Czariſh Majeſty's Return.

Here follows M. Le Brun's *Deſcription of the City of* Moskow, *which we paſs over, referring to what is ſaid of it in the firſt Volume.*

Of the Order of St. Andrew.

The Czar upon his Return from the *Netherlands* eſtabliſhed the Order of Knighthood of St. *Andrew*, with which he has already honoured the Count *Feodor Alexewitz Golowin*, Prime Miniſter of State and Grand Admiral; the *Hetman* or General of the *Coſacks* *; M. *Printz*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the King of *Pruſſia*; and Fieldmarſhal-General *Boris Petrowitz Czeremetoff* †.

Different ſorts of Puniſhments.

Here they have different ſorts of Puniſhments. The greateſt Crimes are puniſhed with Fire: A ſquare Pile of Wood being put up, they ſurround and fill it with Straw, and the Criminal after Sentence is read to him, is put into the middle of it, and Fire ſet to it, which ſoon ſuffocates him, and afterwards reduces his Body to Aſhes. They behead with an

* *Mazeppa.* † *Field-Marſhal* Czeremetoff *died in* 1719 *in* Poland, *and was buried at* Peterſbourg *with great Pomp.* See Vol. I. p. 253.

Ax on a Block. The way of hanging is the ſame as in other Countries. Another ſort of Execution is burying in the Ground up to the Shoulders, of which mention has been already made. So little Notice is taken of thoſe Executions, that if one is performed at one End of the Town, in the other they ſeldom know any thing of it. Such Offenders as have not deſerved Death, are puniſhed with the *Knout*, which is a great Whip of Leather, with which they lay on ſo ſeverely, that the Malefactor often dies of it. The Hangman pitches upon ſome ſtrong Fellow among the Spectators, on whoſe Back he puts the Offender with his Hands over the other's Shoulders; then he ties his Legs, and one of the Hangman's Men holds him by the Hair, after which they give him as many Laſhes as is expreſſed in his Sentence; every Stroke, if well laid on, never fails to fetch off the Skin. Leſſer Crimes are puniſhed with beating with Sticks: The Offender is laid down with his Belly on the Ground, and two Perſons ſit down, one upon his Head, and another upon his Legs, till he has ſuffered his Puniſhment. When they put one to the Torture, they hang him up in the Air, and ſtrike him with the *Knout*, after which they touch the ſore Parts with a red hot Iron. The moſt painful manner of torturing is, to ſhave the Criminal's Head, and pour cold Water upon his Crown Drop by Drop. The Puniſhment of inſolvent Debtors, or thoſe who refuſe to pay their Creditors, is as follows: They are expoſed before the *Pricaſe*, where from time to time they receive three Blows with a Stick on their Shins: Thoſe who owe one hundred Rubels are thus

puniſhed every Day for a Month together, and others who owe more or leſs, ſuffer in proportion. If after this they are not yet able to pay, all that belongs to them is given to their Creditors: If that will not yet make up the Sum, they are delivered up to their Creditors with their Wives and Children for Servants. Every Year five Rubels are deducted of the Debt, for a Man, and half ſo much for a Woman, the Creditors being obliged to maintain them in Diet and Clothes, and this ſo long till the whole is paid off in this manner.

A Liſt of the Patriarchs.

The Ruſſians reckon eleven Patriarchs of *Moskow* till 1700: I. *Joff*; II. *Germogen*; III. *Ignatius*, whom however ſome will not reckon among the others, he having been a Roman Catholick in the time of *Pſeudo-Demetrius*; IV. *Philaretus*; V. *Joſaff*; VI. *Joſiff*; VII. *Nicon*; VIII. *Joſaff*; IX. *Peſterim*; X. *Joakim*; XI. *Adrian*, after whom none has been choſen again to this time *.

A Liſt of the Councellors of State in 1689.

In the Year 1689 there were at *Moskow* forty four Councellors of State of divers Families, *viz.* two of that of *Czircaſſie*; three *Galiczin*; one *Odofsky*; three *Proſorofsky*; five *Soltikoff* †; three *Wruſori*; three *Czeremetoff*; one *Dolgoruki*; one *Bonodanofsky*; one *Trecuroff*; one *Repenin*; one *Wolinsky*; one *Koſlofsky*; one *Baratinsky*; one *Czerbatoff*; two *Go-*

* [*Baron* Mayerberg (p. 26. Itineris in Moſchoviam) *relates their Names in another and better Order, viz.* I. Job; II. Ignatius; III. Hermogenes; IV. Philaretus; V. Jaſaph; VI. Joſeph; VII. Nicon.]

† *Of that Family is deſcended the Czarina Dowager* Proſcovia.

lowin;

lowin; one *Schein*; two *Buturlin*; one *Puskin*; one *Chilcoff*; one *Stueſchnoff*; one *Sabakin*; two *Miloſlafsky*; two *Nariskin*; one *Sokoffim*; one *Tuſchoff*; one *Matuskin*.

Great Alterations have been made in the Czar's Dominions, ſince his Majeſty's Return from his Travels. Firſt of all he changed the Dreſs both of Men and Women, particularly of thoſe who had their Dependence on the Court, or held Employments, which Order even extended to their Children. Since this the Ruſſian Merchants as well as others, are alſo dreſſed in a Manner as not to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of our Country. An Ordinance was publiſhed afterwards, forbidding all Ruſſians without Diſtinction to go out of the Gates, without being dreſſed either in the Poliſh way, or according to our Faſhion. A Beginning was made with the Servants of Strangers, who if they failed to obey, were taken by the Guards even from behind their Maſters Sleds, and not releaſed till they had paid a Fine; but this Order did not extend to the Peaſants and Country People. Beſides this Change of Dreſs, the Natives were obliged to ſhave their Beards, and were only allowed to wear Whiskers, which however Courtiers and other Perſons have alſo left off ſince. To ſee this Order ſtrictly executed, People were appointed to cut the Beard of every Man without Diſtinction whom they met with that had one. This was ſo ſhocking to many Ruſſians at firſt, that they began to bribe thoſe who were charged with this Commiſſion, but in vain, for if they eſcaped the Hands of the firſt, they ſoon met with others who gave them no Quarter. People

Change of the Ruſſian Cuſtoms.

of the first Quality were liable to it every where, even at the Czar's own Table. It is impossible to express the Grief this occasioned to many of them, who would rather have given any thing in the World, than to lose their Beards which they had wore for so long a time, and looked upon as a particular Mark of Honour and Respect. The Women were not used with so much Rigour; however those of Quality were obliged to dress as ours do. The better to effectuate this Change, they were obliged to send beyond Sea for Hats, Shoes, and other necessary Clothes. But as this became very troublesome and expensive to the Russians, they began to make those things themselves. At first they did it aukwardly enough, but as they were afterwards supplied with foreign Workmen, to instruct them, and as they can easily imitate any thing, they have since succeeded better. At the same time good Regulations were made against Beggars, who were in such Numbers at *Moskow*, that one could not go to a Shop, or come out from Church without being pursued by them from one End of the Street to the other; and as it happens, many of them turned Pickpockets and Robbers in the Streets. The Czar to remedy this Inconvenience, forbad all Beggars to beg in the Streets, and any Person that gave Alms, was fined five Rubels. In the mean time Hospitals were established near every Church, and endowed by the Czar, to provide for the Poor. This Method soon cleared the Streets of those Vagrants, many of whom chose rather to work than to be lockt up in the Hospitals.

On the 14th of September eight hundred *Swediſh* Priſoners, Men Women, and Children, were brought to *Moskow*. Many of them were ſold, at firſt for three or four Gilders a Head, and afterwards they bore a higher Price, from twenty to thirty. This encouraged many Foreigners to buy, to the good Fortune of thoſe poor People, who were only to ſerve during the War, and afterwards to be ſet at Liberty. The *Ruſſians* alſo bought many of them; but thoſe were moſt to be pitied who were ſold to the *Tartars*, and by them carried into Slavery. *Swediſh Priſoners ſold.*

On the 19th of December I had Orders to go to the Czarina Dowager at *Iſmailoff*, with the Pictures of the three young Princeſſes, which at her Deſire I had drawn a ſecond time. That Palace had been rebuilt laſt Summer, the old one being decayed. The Day that I arrived there, was appointed for the Conſecration of it, before the Court was to go to inhabit it. The Floor of the firſt Apartment was ſtrewed with Hay; on the right ſtood a large Table on which lay large and ſmall Loaves, on the Tops of ſome of which lay Handfuls of Salt, and on others ſtood Salt-ſellers filled with Salt. It is the Cuſtom in this Country, that the Relations and Friends of the People who go to live in a new Houſe, conſecrate it as it were with Salt, which Ceremony they repeat for ſeveral Days together. The Intention is, to wiſh them all ſort of Proſperity, and that they may never want for any thing neceſſary for the Support of Life. If they remove from a Houſe, they leave Hay on the Floor with a Loaf of Bread, thereby wiſhing all ſorts of Bleſſings to thoſe *The Conſecration of Houſes.*

who are to live in it after them. In a ſecond Room were ſome Noblemen and Prieſts, which latter ſung ſome Hymns. The Czarina Dowager with ſeveral Ladies ſtayed in a third Apartment, till the Service was over, after which I was admitted into her Preſence.

A Journey to Veronitz.

The Czar having reſolved to go to *Veronitz*, I ſet out thither with my Company before his Majeſty on the 31ſt of January 1703; we were provided with *Podwodes*, purſuant to which we were to find freſh Horſes every twentieth Werſt. From *Moſkow* to *Veronitz* high Poſts are erected along the Road at the End of every Werſt, which are painted red, and the Year 1701 marked upon them in Ruſſian and German Characters, that being the Year when they were ſet up. Along the Road from one Poſt to another Trees are planted on both Sides as far as *Veronitz*, which I gueſſed to be about two hundred thouſand in Number. There are five hundred fifty two of thoſe Poſts, which make about one hundred ten German Miles. Thoſe Poſts and Trees are the more uſeful, becauſe in Winter it would be difficult to find the Way without them, all being covered with Snow, beſides that People travel Night and Day. Every twentieth Werſt there are *Kabacks* or Inns, which the Czar has cauſed to be built for the Conveniency of Travellers.

A Canal of Communication between the Black *and* Baltick Seas.

At *Colomna* we were overtaken by the Czar, and the next Day we arrived near the ſmall Lake *Ivan*, near the Village *Ivan-Ozero*. The River *Don* or *Tanais* has its Source in that Lake, or rather Pond, which is very marſhy, though

though the Water of the *Don* which runs out of it in a long Chanel is very clear and well taſted. Part of the Water of that Lake runs off on one Side, and part of it the other, which is very remarkable. In this Place the Czar began in the Year 1702 to cauſe a Canal to be cut for making a Communication between the *Don* and the *Baltick*. This Canal, which is very deep, has its beginning in the *Don*, and is to be conducted through the Lake *Ivan* as far as the ſmall River *Schata*, which falls into the River *Uppa*, and the latter into the *Occa*, which runs into the *Wolga*. This Communication is to be eſtabliſhed by the means of ſeveral Sluices, each of which is eighty Foot long, and fourteen broad. Seven Sluices were then finiſhed.

Veronitz is ſituate in fifty two Degrees, thirty Minutes of Latitude, on the Top of a Hill; it is ſurrounded with a wooden Wall which is all rotten, and is divided into three Parts. The principal Ruſſian Merchants inhabit one part which is called *Jakatof*. There is a large Rope-yard in the Town, and the Gunpowder Magazines are in Cellars without the Walls. On the deſcent of the Hill along the River are ſeveral Houſes belonging to Perſons of Note. This Town lies Weſt of the River *Veronitz*, from which the Town has its Name. The Citadel lies on the other Side, and has Communication with the Town by a long Bridge. The Ditches round it are filled with the Water of the old River. It is a ſquare Building with Towers on the four Corners; there are many large Apartments in it, and it makes a good Appearance from without. The Sands from the Downs

Deſcription of Veronitz.

Downs ſtop up the new River to ſuch a degree that it is not navigable, ſo that the Ships are obliged to paſs through the old River. The Citadel is the chief Storehouſe, by which Name it alſo commonly goes. There were one hundred fifty Pieces of Cannon in it, but the greater part without Carriages. That Citadel is in ſeveral Places provided with Paliſados, and a good Garriſon kept in it and in the neighbouring Parts of the Town, to obſtruct the Incurſions of the *Tartars*. The Docks for building of Ships are now Sidewards of the Citadel, but formerly they built Ships on all Sides. The Storehouſe is on the other Side; it is a large Building three Stories high, the two undermoſt of Stone, and the uppermoſt of Wood. It is divided into ſeveral Apartments full of naval Stores, every Sort being in its proper Place, even the Clothes for the Seamen. Next to the Store-houſe is the Houſe where they make Sail-cloth. They reckon about ten thouſand Inhabitants in that Town and in its Neighbourhood. As to the Czar's Ships there, we ſaw fifteen in the Water, *viz.* four Men of War, the largeſt of which was of fifty four Guns; three Victualling Ships; two Fire Ships, and ſix Bomb Ketches. On the Land lay ready to be launched five Men of War built after the *Dutch* way, from ſixty to ſixty four Guns; two after the *Italian* manner, from fifty to fifty four Guns; a Galeaſs after the *Venetian* way, and four Gallies: Beſides ſeventeen Gallies at *Sieofskie*, two Werſts from the Town. They were alſo building five other Men of War after the *Engliſh* way; two bored for ſeventy four Guns, two others for

for ſixty or ſixty four; the fifth which bore the Czar's Name, becauſe it was built by his Direction, was bored for eighty ſix Guns. They were alſo building a Packet-Boat. On the other Side of the River, on the Shore, were ſeen two hundred Brigantines, moſt of them built at *Veronitz*. There were alſo at that time on the River *Nieper* or *Boryſthenes*, in the Neighbourhood of *Krim*, four hundred large Brigantines; and three hundred flat-bottomed Barks on the *Wolga*. Moreover eighteen Men of War at *Azoff*, a Bomb Veſſel and a Yacht. The Czar has ſeveral other Ships, the largeſt of which is of ſixty ſix Guns: Four of forty eight to fifty: Five of thirty ſix: Two of thirty four: and others that are ſmaller, the leaſt of which is of twenty eight Guns *.

Other Works; Elephant Teeth found. More Ships.

On the 14th of February I attended the Czar to a Place on the River *Don*, twelve Werſts from *Veronitz*, whither he went to view ſome Ships that lay there. I ſaw there the Works they were making to ſtop the Current of the *Don*, in order to turn it into another Chanel, for which a Sluice was made on that Side, whither they intended to convey that River. We found in that Neighbourhood on the Surface of the Ground ſeveral Elephants Teeth, at which we were not a little ſurprized, ſeeing no body could tell how they came thither. The Czar told us it was his Opinion, that *Alexander the*

The Czar's reſtoring Azoff *to the Turks, put a Stop to his Ship-building at* Veronitz, *and thoſe Ships that had been built there, are at preſent for the greateſt part rotten.*

Great,

Great, when he paſſed the *Tanais* or *Don*, as is reported by ſome Hiſtorians, advanced as far as *Koſtinka*, a ſmall Town eight Werſts from thence, and that probably ſome of his Elephants died there, of which thoſe Teeth were the Remains. The Fleet which the Czar had at the aboveſaid Place, conſiſted of eleven Men of War, and two Victualling Ships. One of thoſe Ships built by the Czar's own Direction, was above all others finely adorned, and the Captain's Cabin was wainſcotted with Walnut-tree. Next to this lay another which was alſo very fine, built by an *Engliſhman*; but the reſt were not extraordinary.

A Difference between two Tartarian Princes.

The Czar being returned to *Moskow*, I took Leave of his Majeſty there, in order to ſet out for *Perſia*. I was furniſhed with a Paſſport by the *Knees Boris Alexiewitz Galitzin*, who was Vice-Roy of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, and who beſides gave me Letters of Recommendation to the Governors of thoſe two Places. The ſaid Lord was but lately returned from *Caſan*, whither the Czar had ſent him to adjuſt a Difference that had happened between a *Tartarian* Prince and his Son, the Occaſion of which was this: The Father having taken a Fancy for a certain Woman he found with his Son, cauſed her to be carried off. The Son provoked at this Proceeding, declared open War againſt his Father and appeared in the Field at the Head of twenty thouſand Men. The Father having on his Side aſſembled about forty thouſand, they were upon the Point to come to an Engagement when the ſaid *Knees* arriyed and adjuſted Matters between them. The

Tartarian

Tartarian Prince preſented him among other things with a large Piece of Cloth or Stuff which neither burns nor is conſumed by Fire; I had a Piece of it given me by a Friend who had ſome of it from the *Knees*. He told me that it was made in *Kitay*, between *China* and *Bucharia*, where they make of the ſame to this Day. In my former Travels I had a Piece of the Stone *Amiantes* given to me in *Cyprus*, of which they ſpin a Thread, which is incombuſtible; in ancient Times they made Cloth of it, but that Art is loſt at preſent. *Pliny* makes mention of ſuch incombuſtible Linen or Cloth, as alſo ſome Modern Writers of Antiquity, when they ſpeak of the Uſe of Lamps in the Tombs of the Ancients. *Incombuſtible Cloth.*

I left *Moskow* on the 22d of April 1703, in the Company of an *Armenian* Merchant. We travelled by Water and paſſed by the following Towns *Kolommenske*, *Colomna*, *Pereſlaw Kaſiemof*, *Alaetma*, *Moruma*. This latter Place is inhabited by *Ruſſians* and *Tartars*; for here the *Mordwa Tartars* begin. *M.* Le Brun *ſets out for* Perſia. Mordwa Tartars.

On the 5rh of May we arrived at *Niſi-Novogrod*, or the leſſer *Novogrod*, commonly called by the Ruſſians *Nieſna* or *Niſen*. It is the Capital of a ſmall Duchy of the ſame Name, and has a Citadel ſituate on a Rock, where the Rivers *Occa* and *Wolga* joyn. It is ſurrounded with a fine Stone Wall. The Cathedral is likewiſe of Stone, with five Cupolas painted green, and adorned with fine Croſſes on the Tops: Next to it is the Archbiſhop's Palace, which is a handſome Stone-building, in the midſt of which ſtands a pretty little Church with a Steeple; beſides two Niſi-Novogrod.

other Churches, one of Stone and the other of Wood. The *Pricaſe* or Chancery, as alſo the Governor's Houſe, are but of Wood. Beſides thoſe Buildings there is little to be ſeen in this Town, which is not very large, conſiſts all of wooden Houſes, and has but two Gates. But the Suburbs are very large, particularly that on the River ſide, in which are ſeveral Churches built of Stone. On the other ſide of the River lies a large Village, which belongs to *Gregori Demetri Stroganof*, a Merchant who is reckoned the richeſt in all *Ruſſia*. There is a fine Church in this Village, as alſo a fine Houſe both built of Stone, in the latter of which the ſaid Merchant lives ſometimes. The Evening we were there, forty eight large Barges all belonging to himſelf were going off to take in Wood, on each of which were about forty People, every one of whom was hired for three Rixdollars.

Tartars Czeremiſſes.

On the 8th of May we paſſed by the Town of *Waſſieligorod*, the Neighbourhood of which is inhabited by the *Tartars Czeremiſſes*, who extend as far as *Caſan*. After having paſſed by the Towns of *Kuſmademianski*, *Sabakzar*, *Kokſchaga* and *Swyatski*, we arrived at *Caſan*.

Caſan.

The City of *Caſan* makes a fine Appearance at a diſtance by reaſon of the great number of its Churches, and its Citadel which is walled about with Stone. Six or ſeven Werſts before we came to that City, we paſſed by the Yards where they were building Ships: We ſaw forty Ships or Barks on the Stocks, and many more moſtly finiſhed, nearer the Town. We were told, they were going to build three hundred and eighty in all, part of which were deſigned for *Aſtracan*, to guard

guard the *Caſpian Sea*, and the reſt for other Places.

After having paſſed by the Town of *Tetuſie* or *Tetus*, I went on Shore with ſome of the Company to get Proviſions in a large Village near the Town of *Simbierska*, which lay to the Right on a Hill. It is ſaid that this formerly was a large Town, but was deſtroyed by *Tamerlan the Great*. However there remain but a few Ruins of it, as far as I could learn, for I had no time to go thither my ſelf. There are ſome who pretend that higher up there are many Ruins of other Towns and Places, but this is very uncertain. So much however I was aſſured of, that near *Zaritza* there are ſtill Remains of an old Caſtle and its Walls. It is alſo affirmed, that between *Caſan* and *Aſtracan* there are ſeveral very ancient and conſiderable Towns, among others *Achtuba* on the River *Uffa*, but I could learn nothing certain as to that matter. So much is true, that the River *Uffa* is very well known, which comes from *Siberia* and runs into the *Wolga* on the other Side between *Saratof* and *Zaritza:* It is likewiſe known that the Town of *Achtuba* was ſituate on that River, but there is not the leaſt Footſtep of it now remaining, the Stones of it having been carried away to build *Aſtracan* and ſome other Places. On this Side of *Samara* near a Village called *Siera Barak*, on the Left we ſaw a high Mountain almoſt without Trees, called *Sariol Kiergan:* The Ruſſians told us that it was the Burying-place of a *Tartarian* King or Emperor, who Name was *Mammon*, who went up the River *Wolga* with ſeventy other *Tartarian*

Antiquities and other Curioſities.

tarian Kings, to conquer all *Ruſſia*. But he dying in this Place, his Soldiers, whom he was leading to that Expedition in great numbers, filled their Head-pieces and Shields with Earth, and ſo raiſed that Mountain. A little further down on the Weſt-ſide of the River are ſeveral other Mountains all covered with Trees. Two Years ago it was diſcovered that they contained the beſt Brimſtone in the World: There were then above four thouſand People working on it, partly *Ruſſians* partly *Czeremiſſes* and *Mordwates*. The Czar had ſent thither Overſeers and Soldiers to obſerve the Workmen.

From *Samara* we proceeded to *Kaskur*, *Sieſeron*, and *Saratof*. The latter Place is inhabited almoſt by none but *Ruſſians* who are moſtly all Soldiers commanded by the Governor. They are continually alarmed by the Incurſions of the *Tartars* who extend as far as the *Caſpian Sea* and the River *Jaika*.

A new Town, and a Communication intended between the Don and Wolga.

Sarugamis is a Town begun to be built four Years ago, which was then already well advanced, pretty large and ſurrounded with a Rampart of Earth, on which they worked without Intermiſſion. Near four thouſand Families were already come from *Moskow* to people the new Town. It is built on a ſteep Mountain full of Rocks: On the Left below the Town runs the River *Kamuſhinka*, which, is ſaid, takes its Riſe in the Canal of *Iloba*, which falls into the *Don*, which diſcharges it ſelf in the Sea *Zabache* *, and divides *Europe* from *Aſia*. It is likewiſe ſaid, that the *Coſacks* inhabiting along the *Don* uſed to go

* Palus Mæotis.

in

in Boats from that River into the *Wolga*, and committed great Diſorders in thoſe Parts, notwithſtanding Soldiers were ſent from time to time to refrain their Inſolence; but this not being ſufficient to put a ſtop to their Robberies, it was reſolved to build the ſaid Town there, to keep them in awe. They were alſo at Work in building a Fort on the other ſide of the *Kamuſhinka* ſurrounded with a Rampart of Earth, which Work advanced but ſlowly, the Workmen not being able to endure the bad Air of that Place. Had it not been for that Conſideration, the Czar would have cauſed a Canal to be made there for a Communication with the *Black Sea*. I went to ſee the Works, and was told that the Deſign at firſt was to build the new Town on the Place where the Fort ſtands now, but that the bad Air made them change that Reſolution. They had alſo reſolved on another Deſign which was to make a Dyke from one Mountain to another to ſtop the Courſe of the *Kamuſhinka* and hinder it from running into the *Wolga*; but they were obliged to give it over, the Flood-gates of the Sluices not being able to reſiſt the Violence of the Waters which from time to time came running down from the Mountains. Beſides the Ground is ſo rocky there, that it is impoſſible to break it. All this obliged the Undertaker to deſiſt from that Enterprize for fear of worſe Conſequences to himſelf.

We proceeded to the Towns of *Zaritza* and *Tzornogar*, which latter is only inhabited by Soldiers to reſtrain the roving *Calmuck Tartars*, who often come as far as

Samara, and drive the Cattle away. On the 20th of May we arrived at *Aſtracan*.

Aſtracan. *Aſtracan* is ſituate Eaſt of the *Wolga*, in ancient *Scythia*; but at preſent all the Land between the Rivers *Wolga* and *Jaika* and the *Caſpian* Sea is called *Nagaja*; and the Country in general, the Kingdom of *Aſtracan*, after the Name of its Capital. It lies in the *Aſiatick Tartary* towards the Frontiers of *Ruſſia*, and on the principal Branch of the *Wolga*, which ſome Leagues lower runs into the *Caſpian* Sea. This City lies in forty ſix Degrees twenty two Minutes Northern Latitude on a ſmall Iſland called *Dolgoi*, which is formed by a ſmall River. The beſt Land is Eaſtward as far as the River *Jaika*: Weſtward there is a large Heath, which is ſaid to be about ſeventy Leagues long, extending towards the *Black Sea*, and ſome Leagues South as far as the *Caſpian Sea*. Good Salt is found there, which is carried over all *Ruſſia*. The Town it ſelf is ſurrounded with a good Stone-Wall which extends a League in Circumference, and has ten Gates, ſix of which lead to the River, and two are in the Citadel which makes part of the City Wall. The Cathedral is called *Saboor*; it was begun to be built five Years ago at the Expence of the Metropolitan whoſe Name is *Samſon*. This Prelate has his particular Juriſdiction over the Clergy, and his own *Pricaſe* or Court in his House: He is alſo Metropolitan of *Terki*, a Town under the Dominion of his Czariſh Majeſty on this Side of the *Caſpian Sea*, among the Mountains of *Circaſſia*, about ſeven hundred Werſts from *Aſtracan*. The Cathedral was not yet finiſhed;

finiſhed; they were then buſy in raiſing five ſmall Cupolas; it is a ſquare Building two hundred Paces in Circumference; the Back part of it is partly built on the Wall of the Metropolitan's Palace, which is the principal Building in the Town, of a large Extent and all of Stone. In the fineſt part of the Citadel ſtands the Governor's Palace, a large wooden Building, which contains a great Number of pleaſant Apartments, particularly a great Hall which has a charming Proſpect on all ſides: That Palace is ſurrounded with a ſeparate Wall which is of Wood. The Citadel is well furniſhed with Artillery: on the right as you enter ſtands the Chancery, a Stone-building. The beſt Church after that of *Saboor* is that of *Iſdwieſinje*, which is built of Bricks plaiſtered over. The Cupola is gilt as well as the Croſs upon it, which is three Fathoms long; the other Cupolas are painted green. All the other Churches are of Wood, as are alſo the two Monaſteries *Troyts* and *Pettenske*, in the latter of which are Nuns. This City is governed by the Governor and three Burghermaſters, the firſt of whom preſides at the Town-Houſe, the ſecond has the Inſpection of the *Kabaks* or publick Houſes, and the third has the Direction of the Czar's Fiſhery. On the other ſide of the River without the Walls, are, the Monaſtery of *Iwan*, (a fine Stone-Building) two other Monaſteries, and ſeveral Suburbs. The chief Suburb is that of the Soldiers, which lies Eaſt of the City, along the River *Kutume*, which runs into the *Wolga*. Another is called *Balda*, over-againſt the City, where the Czar's Ships lie. Two others *Caſauſe* and *Siepielewe* are inhabited indifferently

differently by all ſorts of People. The *Tartarian Slaboda* or Suburb is ſeparated from all the reſt, and is almoſt all built of Earth and Clay, which they dry in the Sun and make Bricks of it. The *Tartars* live in it in Winter, but in Summer they encamp in the open Fields. The Country abounds in all ſorts of Proviſions, except Corn, with which they are ſupplied from *Caſan* and other Places at a reaſonable Price. Fiſh particularly are in Plenty: One ſort which is moſt eſteemed is called *Beluga*, which is two Fathoms long. *Sterlets* are the moſt delicious Fiſh that one can meet with, not only in *Ruſſia*, but any where elſe. They are of the length of an Ell, and are ſold at *Aſtracan* for two Pence or three Pence a piece, but at *Moskow* they pay for them, when alive, ſix or ſeven Rubels. There live about forty *Armenian* Families in the Neighbourhood of this City, who have their Shops in the Town. The *Indians* live in their *Caravanſerai* where they carry on their Trade. They are not inferior in Number to the *Armenians*, but they have no Women among them. The *Caravanſerai* is a ſpatious Building, walled in with a ſquare Stone-Wall, which has ſeveral Gates. Guards are placed at the two principal ones, and they are ſhut up at a certain Hour in the Evening. The *Armenian* Merchants who travel to and fro, go to lodge in it. Some of that Nation even live in it, and keep Shops there. They are divided into their *Chans* or ſeparate Quarters: That for Paſſengers is two Stories high, and has Galleries; that of the *Indians* is on the other ſide, and is wholly of Wood; but not long ago they have built Store-houſes of Stone to ſecure their Goods againſt

againſt Fire. The *Armenians* were then building a *Caravanſerai* of their own, which was already raiſed ſix Foot above the Foundations. The Gardens about the Town are generally full of Vines, and Fruit-Trees, eſpecially Apple, Pear, Plumb, and Apricock Trees; the Fruits of which are but indifferent. But they have excellent Water-Melons, which ſurpaſs thoſe of *Perſia*. They let their Vines grow to a Man's Height, then lop them off, that they may not grow higher, and tie them to Props: The Grapes are black or of a deep blue, and pretty big, as I was told, for I was not there in the Seaſon. Thoſe that grow in private Gardens, are ſold in the Market; but of the others that grow in the Vineyards, which almoſt all belong to the Czar, they make Wine, which is red and pleaſant enough. The Ground is very ſandy, but as there are Springs, they dig large Wells in their Gardens, into which they convey the Water through Pipes under Ground. They afterwards draw it out of thoſe Wells by the Help of a large Wheel to which Buckets are tied, which pour the Water into Gutters which convey it all over the Garden or Vineyard. One Camel is able to turn the whole Machine. Thoſe Vineyards are two or three Werſts from the Town, and the Number of them increaſes every Year; as they lie open, there are high Watch-houſes or Boxes placed at a certain Diſtance, on which they keep Guards to prevent Thieves. I was told it was above one hundred Years ago when they began to plant Vineyards, which it is believed was done by *Perſian* Merchants who brought the Vines from their own Country.

Of a Perſian *Ambaſſador.* During my Stay at *Aſtracan*, I went to ſee *Serochan Beek*, who had been appointed the King of *Perſia*'s Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden:* The Czar who was then at War with *Sweden*, would not ſuffer that Miniſter to paſs through his Dominions, and even arreſted him, in which Confinement he continued three Years, and was afterwards allowed to return home.

Old Aſtracan. I alſo went to ſee the Place, ſeven Werſts from *Aſtracan*, where the ancient City formerly ſtood. It is Eaſtward of the Town on the Left going down the River; but there were not the leaſt Remains of it to be ſeen. Seven Years ago Saltpeter was diſcovered in the Mountains there, on which they work at preſent with good Succeſs.

Of the Tartars *about* Aſtracan. I went ſeveral times to view the *Tartarian* Camp, which is but three or four Werſts from the Town. They encamp in Bands, every Family by it ſelf, and at ſome Diſtance from each other. Their Tents are made much like Parrots Cages, except that they are not ſo high in proportion; they are compoſed of Laths four or five Inches thick, and covered with Felt, Camel or Horſe Hair. Thoſe of the moſt conſiderable Perſons among them, are covered with Cloth; they all have an opening at the Top to let the Smoak out, with a Pole in the middle, which reaches out four or five Foot: To the End of that Pole they fix a Piece of Cloth of divers Colours, which comes down to the Ground, and hangs on a broad Strop which they faſten on the outſide of the Tent; by the Help of which they turn the Cloth which way they pleaſe, to keep off the Wind or the Heat of the Sun.

When

When all the Smoak is gone out, they cover the Top, and then their Tents are as warm as a Stove; the Bottom or Floor of it is laid with fine Stuffs or handſome Carpets according to the Rank of the Owners, with a *Sofa* after the *Turkiſh* Faſhion, raiſed a little above the Floor, which takes up one third part of the Tent. They alſo have in them very fine Trunks to lock up things of Value, and in general all is very clean and in good Order. When they remove, they put their Tents upon Waggons after having taken off the Cover. The Women and Children put themſelves into them, and the Men accompany them on Horſeback. Thoſe People when they ſaw that it was mere Curioſity which had brought me among them, very willingly ſhewed me whatever I deſired, though at firſt they made ſome Difficulty, for they will not allow any body to come near the Tents where their Wives are. I took notice of a pretty brown young Woman among them, very finely dreſſed. Her Head-Dreſs in particular appeared extraordinary to me, being made of Silver or Copper gilt, all covered with golden Ducats, Pearls, and precious Stones. I was delighted with it and reſolved to draw her Picture. Theſe People ſubſiſting only by their Cattle, always look out for the beſt Paſture. The Women are taken up with making Cloth, and the like, which they afterwards ſell in Town. Their way of ſewing is like that of the *Ruſſian* Women, and they ſpin with the Spindle; they alſo card Wool and make Felt of it, as alſo woollen Stuffs. Their Fewel is nothing but Cow-dung, which they prepare and dry in a manner like Turf, and

pile it up in Heaps near their Tents. Thoſe *Tartars* pay no Tribute to the Czar, they only are obliged to ſend ſome Hundreds of their Men into the Field, if the Czar deſires it.

M. Le Brun *having left* Aſtracan *on the* 12th *of July* 1703, *ſailed by the* Caſpian Sea *to* Perſia *and went to the* Eaſt-Indies, *from whence he returned to* Aſtracan *on the* 4th *of July* 1707, *and paſſed a ſecond time through* Ruſſia *to* Archangel, *on which occaſion he makes ſome further Obſervations, of which we will give the following Abſtract.*

A Rebellion at Aſtracan.

Upon my Arrival at *Aſtracan* I was informed, that during my Abſence, in the Year 1705 the *Strelitzes* had rebelled and maſſacred the Governor *Timaſe Ivanowitz Urſofsky*, and all the Strangers there, with their Wives and Children, which Misfortune had befallen almoſt all my Friends and Acquaintance there, three or four only excepted, among whom were the Governor's Wife and her Son, who three Days before the ſaid Rebellion were ſet out for *Moskow*. The poor Lady indeed thus eſcaped the Fury of the Mutineers, but another Diſaſter overtook her on the Way; the Bark in which ſhe was going for *Moskow*, having taken Fire by ſome Accident, ſhe loſt all that ſhe was worth, and upon her Arrival at *Moskow* died of Grief. The Czar had afterwards ſent regular Forces to *Aſtracan*, and cauſed the greater part of the *Strelitzes* and others who had been engaged in that Rebellion, to be put to Death.

One

One Evening when I had Company, the Landlady of the Houſe where I lodged was brought to Bed, and though her Room was over mine, yet I obſerved nothing of the whole Matter, till I was informed of it after my Friends were gone. When her Husband, who was a Clerk in the Chancery, came home, I preſented him with Piſtachio-Nuts, Dates and Almonds to make his Goſſips good cheer. Towards Evening all the Women began to ſing in conſort, as if they had been at Church; but when I asked my Servant, who underſtood the Language of the Country, what they meant by it, he told me that they were fuddled, and that this was their way on ſuch occaſions. But what ſurprized me moſt of all, was to ſee the Woman newly delivered ſitting the next Day with her Child in the Street at the Door of her Houſe, and in the Evening entertaining the Women that had aſſiſted her the Day before, with Brandy, of which ſhe took her Share as copiouſly as any of the reſt. *Eaſy Delivery of a Woman.*

I was here informed of ſome Particulars relating to the Hiſtory of the *Tartarian* Nation with which I had been unacquainted before*. In the Year 1246 they choſe one *Kuine* to be the Head of all *Tartary*, and ſirnamed him *The ancient Glory of the Tartars.*

* [*We have inſerted theſe Particulars of the* Tartarian *Hiſtory, howſoever imperfect they are, foraſmuch as it ſeems the Author had them as a Tradition preſerved among the Inhabitants of the Country. The right Name of that great Prince and Conqueror, whom he calls* Kuine, *is* Genghiz-Can, *whoſe Hiſtory was publiſhed in* 1710 *at* Paris *by M.* Petis de la Croix, *who collected it from Oriental Writers, and has been lately tranſlated into* Engliſh.]

Gog

Gog Cham, that is to ſay, King or Emperor, and they called themſelves *Moals* or *Mongals*. This Emperor and his Succeſſors in their Writings ſtyled themſelves *The Strength of God and Emperors of the Univerſe*, and cauſed theſe Words to be ingraven about their Seal: *One God in Heaven; one Kuine Cham on Earth; the Strength of God, and the Emperor of Humankind*. Thoſe Princes always maintained five Armies to keep their Subjects in Obedience. The ſaid firſt Emperor vanquiſhed on the Frontiers of *Perſia* the Prince *Bajoth Noy*, who had conquered all the Dominions of the *Chriſtians* and *Saracens* as far as *Antiochia* and the *Mediterranean*, and took from him fourteen Kingdoms, extending from *Perſia* as far as thoſe Parts. His Name was properly *Bajoth*, and *Noy* ſignified his Dignity. The *Tartars* never had a greater Prince than *Bathii*, whoſe Army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand Men, *viz.* one hundred ſixty thouſand Tartars, and four hundred forty thouſand Chriſtians, without reckoning the Infidels: That Army was divided into five Parts. Their Country which lies Eaſt was called *Mongal*, and inhabited by four different Nations, *viz.* the Great *Mongals* or *Moals*; the *Sumongals* or *Sea Mongals*, who are alſo called *Tartars* from the River *Tartar* that runs through their Country; the *Merkates*; and the *Metrites*. Thoſe four Nations were much like each other, lived very near after the ſame manner, and ſpoke the ſame Language: Yet they were diſtinct from each other, and had their own Governors. Mention is alſo made of a certain People called *Gingis*, who inhabited the Country of *Jeka* in *Mongalia*.

From

From Aſtracan *M.* Le Brun *returned to* Moskow *up the* Wolga *the ſame Way he had come before, as far as* Saratof, *from whence he took another Road by Land.*

We ſaw ſeveral *Calmucks* along the Shore who were angling; we flung Bread into the Water, which they came and fetched ſwimming. They had Camels with them each with two Bunches on their Backs. Two Days after, we landed and met with a great number of other *Calmucks*, Men and Women, who were continually viewing my Dreſs as ſomething very extraordinary to them. They have very ſmall Feet, and as they have them always bare, they meaſured them with mine, as likewiſe their Legs, which are very ſhort. Their Women are alſo of a very ſhort Stature, and plump, like the Men. I was obliged to open my Boſom to ſatisfy their Curioſity, and when I afterwards gave them to underſtand that I wanted to ſee theirs in my Turn, they laughed and made no Difficulty to comply. Thoſe People have no other Dreſs but a ſort of a Petticoat made of Sheep-Skin, which they change according to the Seaſon, the reſt of their Body being naked in Summer. The Boys for the greater part go entirely naked, and have their Hair plaited like the Women. Some however among them wear a certain Cap, a Waſt-coat and Drawers, but without Shirts. They all have flat and broad Faces, Chub-cheeks and long Eyes. They asked me for Tobacco which they put into their Noſes, or chewed it, the Men as well as well as the Women. They live in paltry Tents and encamp in Bands like the *Tartars* near *Aſtracan*, but much

Of the Calmucks, Tartars *and* Coſacks.

much more poorly. The oppoſite Side of the River is inhabited by *Tartars*, who are great Robbers, and often plunder Travellers, as alſo their Neighbours the *Calmucks*, whoſe Horſes and Cattle they ſteal. That River is infeſted by another ſort of ſuch Vermin, who are the *Ruſſian Coſacks*.

A Journey by Land from Saratof *to* Moſkow.

After having paſſed by *Tzornogar* and *Zaritza* we arrived at *Saratof*, where I was provided by the Governor with all Neceſſaries for travelling by Land to *Moskow*. The Places through which we paſſed were: *Petroskie*, a pretty large Town. *Pinſe*, another Town, pretty large and agreeable by reaſon of the great number of Trees with which it is ſurrounded; there were then ſeveral Swediſh Officers Priſoners in that Place. *Inſere*, a very indifferent Town, but Proviſions were exceeding cheap there as well as on the reſt of the Road. *Demnik* a poor open Place. *Kaſiemo*, another Town. *Wolodimer*, the Capital City of the Duchy of that Name, is a large Place ſituate on ſeveral Hills ſeparate from each other, along the River *Cleſma*. It has ſeveral Stone Churches, beſide many others of Wood. On the 4th of November we arrived at *Moskow*.

New Buildings at Moſkow.

I found two new Buildings there, that had been raiſed during my Abſence in *Perſia*. One was the publick Diſpenſary * a fine and large Stone Structure. The Director of it was Dr. *Areskin*, who had Power of Life and Death over thoſe that were under him. He was the Czar's firſt Phyſician, who had a great deal of Regard for him, and allowed him a Salary of one thouſand five hun-

* *See Vol. I. pag.* 142.

dred

dred Ducats. The other Building was an Hoſpital in the *German Slaboda*. Next to it ſtood a Manufactory of Cloth, directed by a Dutch Clothier, who had been ſent for from *Holland*. On the other Side of the River *Moſcua* was a Glaſs-houſe, where they made Looking-glaſſes, among which I ſaw ſome above three Ells long.

Aſtracan *Rebels executed.*

On the 1ſt of December thirty Perſons, who had been concerned in the Rebellion and Maſſacre at *Aſtracan*, were beheaded. This Execution was over in leſs than half an Hour without any great Noiſe. The Malefactors laid their Heads very quietly on the Block themſelves, nor had they even their Hands tied. On the 6th of February 1708, ſeventy more were beheaded for the ſame Offence, five were broken upon the Wheel, and forty five were hanged.

New Colonies of Livonians *in* Ruſſia.

I ſet out from *Moskow* on the 23d of March with Sleds, by *Pereſlaw*, *Roſtoff*, and *Jereſlaw*, for *Wologda*. There arrived at the latter Place ſeven hundred Families from *Dôrpt*, who were to ſettle there, and had Quarters aſſigned them among the *Ruſſians*. Thoſe People appeared the next Day on the River ſide in order to have their Names regiſtred, and ſoon after there came advice that the City of *Dôrpt* had been deſtroyed after their Departure. The moſt conſiderable Perſons among them were gone to *Petersbourg* purſuant to the Czar's Order, and were to be followed by ſome foreign Merchants. Some time after, one thouſand ſeven hundred of the Inhabitants of *Narva* arrived, to remain there till further Orders. Their whole Number amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred Perſons.

Cedar Trees. Cedar Trees are very common in thoſe Parts. I ſaw one of an extraordinary Height, ſprung up from a Seed which had been brought from *Siberia*, which Countrey abounds in thoſe Trees, ſome of which are as tall as thoſe on Mount *Libanon*. There are alſo ſome to be found in the Neighbourhood of *Moskow*.

Of the River Wologda, *and two extraordinary Lakes.* The River *Wologda*, which runs by the City of the ſame Name, was formerly called *Naſſon*, and has its Riſe one hundred Werſts from the ſaid City in a great Moraſs between the Lakes *Kuben* and *Bielozero* or the *White Lake*; it diſcharges it ſelf into the River *Suchana*. The *White Lake* is about ninety Werſts from *Wologda*, and abounds in *Sterlets* and other good Fiſh, of an extraordinary Whiteneſs, from whence the Lake is called the White Lake. Fifty Werſts North-weſt of that City there is another Lake of a contrary Nature, which extends as far as *Kargapol*, and empties it ſelf into the *Donega*, which runs into the *White Sea*. All the Fiſh in that Lake, of what ſort ſoever, are black. The *White Sea* empties it ſelf into the *Wolga* by the River *Soxna*.

Curioſities between Wologda *and* Archangel. We ſet out from *Wologda* on the 17th of June by Water on the River *Wologda*, and afterwards entered the *Sugna* or *Suchana*. We proceeded to *Todma* on the Confluence of the *Todma* and *Suchana*. Next we went to *Stara Todma*, that is to ſay *Old Todma*, the Place where the Town was intended to be built at firſt. Here I could read very eaſily at Midnight, whereas I could not do it at *Wologda* after ten at Night. *Uſt-juga* was the next Town where we arrived. It is ſituate on the Confluence of the *Juga* and the *Nieſna-Sugna*, which

which two Rivers after their uniting go by the Name of *Dwina*, which ſignifies Conjunction. Thirty Werſts from that Town are good Salt-pits. We paſſed afterwards by the Place where the River *Wietſigda*, which comes from *Siberia*, runs into the *Dwina*. A little lower than half Way between *Uſtjuga* and *Archangel* we ſaw on the Left the Alabaſter Mountains, called by the Inhabitants *Piſſurtje*, that is to ſay, Ovens. We went on Shore to view them. They are ſubterraneous Caves or Grottos formed by Nature in a ſurprizing manner. The Entries look like Gates, they are ſupported within by Pillars of Rocks, and have ſeveral Windings. I went in with a Candle about one hundred Paces, but the Ground being too dirty, I could not advance further. It is pretended by ſome that they extend above thirty Werſts under Ground, which however others contradict. The Stones of it are as white as Alabaſter but not ſo hard; the Inhabitants make all ſorts of pretty Work of them*. After having paſſed *Colmogrod* we arrived at *Archangel* on the 28th of June.

M. Le Brun *imbarks at* Archangel *for* Holland.

On the 23d of Auguſt having embarked on board a Ship which was to carry us to *Holland*, we fell down the River, and caſt Anchor near the Fort *Nova Dwinka*, the Wind being contrary. On the 28th we ſaw a Fleet of about one hundred and fifty Ships entering the River, under the Convoy of nine Men of War, five of which were *Engliſh*, three *Dutch* and one of *Hambourg*. It was compoſed of ſixty eight *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, fifty

* *Near* Peterhoff *between* Peterſbourg *and* Cronſlot *a good ſort of Marble has been diſcovered, which is very much eſteemed.*

Dutch, eighteen of *Hambourg*, three *Daniſh*, and one *Ruſſian*, the latter of which came from the *Iſle of Bears* * laden with Whale Fat, and had met with good Succeſs in her Voyage. The Maſter and Pilot of it were Dutchmen. This Fleet, which perhaps was as numerous as ever had appeared before in thoſe Parts in one Day, came up the River without any Pilot. There was one *Daniſh* Ship of twenty eight Guns among them with a Flag on her main Maſt. She had on board M. *Iſmailof* the Czar's late Ambaſſador at the *Daniſh* Court †, who immediately went on Shore with his Retinue. Madam *Dolgoruki*, whoſe Husband had ſucceeded M. *Iſmailof* in that Embaſſy, embarked on the ſame Ship to go to her Husband at *Copenhagen*. The ſaid Ship had caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the River to avoid ſtriking, to which ſhe would otherwiſe have been obliged, if ſhe had come up higher. There were even ſome of thoſe Ships who attempted to ſail up without ſtriking, but the Czar's Ships fired about 20 Guns upon them with Ball, which obliged them to do it, and even to pay fifty Gilders for each Shot.

Aurora Borealis.

In our Voyage off *Norway* in ſixty five Degrees fifty five Minutes, on the 15th of September, there appeared a Phænomenon of an extraordinary Light in the Air, with great Rays which made the Air appear as if it was all on Fire, to that degree that one could read without Candle Light; but it did not laſt above two or three Minutes.

On the 8th of October 1708 we arrived at the *Texel* in *Holland*.

* Cherry Iſland. † *See Vol. I. pag. 251.*

The End of the Second Volume.